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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

IX

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF

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EPITOME OF BOOK LXXI

1[2] Μάρκος δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ποιησαμένου αὐτὸν τελευτήσαντος Ἀντωνίνου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε, προσειλήφει ἐς κοινωνίαν τοῦ κράτους εὐθὺς τὸν τοῦ Λουκίου Κομόδου υἱὸν 2 Λούκιον Βῆρον. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενὴς ἦν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ λόγοις ἐσχόλαζε (λέγεται γὰρ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν μὴ αἰδεῖσθαι μηδὲ ὀκνεῖν ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σέξτῳ προσιέναι τῷ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ ἐς ἀκρόασιν τῶν ῥητορικῶν Ἑρμογένους λόγων μὴ ὀκνῆσαι παραγε- 3 νέσθαι· προσέκειτο δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς μάλιστα δόγμασιν), ὁ δὲ Λούκιος ἔρρωτό τε καὶ νεώτερος ἦν, τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς τε ἔργοις καταλληλότερος. ὅθεν καὶ γαμβρὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Λουκίλλῃ ὁ Μάρκος ποιήσας εἰς τὸν πρὸς Πάρθους ἔπεμψε πόλεμον.

2 Ὁ γὰρ Οὐολόγαισος πολέμου ἦρξε, καὶ στρατόπεδόν τε ὅλον Ῥωμαϊκὸν τὸ ὑπὸ Σεβηριανῷ τεταγμένον ἐν τῇ Ἐλεγείᾳ, χωρίῳ τινὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας, περισχὼν[1] πάντοθεν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόσι κατετόξευσε καὶ διέφθειρε, καὶ τῆς Συρίας 2 ταῖς πόλεσι πολὺς ἐπῄει καὶ φοβερός. ὁ οὖν Λούκιος ἐλθὼν ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ πλείστους στρατιώτας συλλέξας, καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν

[1] περισχὼν Sylb., ἐπισχὼν VC.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXI

MARCUS ANTONINUS, the philosopher, upon obtaining the throne at the death of Antoninus, his adoptive father, had immediately taken to share his power Lucius Verus, the son of Lucius Commodus. For he was frail in body himself and devoted the greater part of his time to letters. Indeed it is reported that even when he was emperor he showed no shame or hesitation about resorting to a teacher, but became a pupil of Sextus, the Boeotian philosopher,[1] and did not hesitate to attend the lectures of Hermogenes on rhetoric; but he was most inclined to the doctrines of the Stoic school. Lucius, on the other hand, was a vigorous man of younger years and better suited for military enterprises. Therefore Marcus made him his son-in-law by marrying him to his daughter Lucilla and sent him to conduct the war against the Parthians. A.D. 161

Vologaesus, it seems, had begun the war by hemming in on all sides the Roman legion under Severianus that was stationed at Elegeia, a place in Armenia, and then shooting down and destroying the whole force, leaders and all; and he was now advancing, powerful and formidable, against the cities of Syria. Lucius, accordingly, went to Antioch and collected a large body of troops; then, keeping A.D. 162

[1] Sextus of Chaeronea, the nephew of Plutarch.

ἡγεμόνων ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔχων, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκάθητο διατάττων ἕκαστα καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χορηγίας ἀθροίζων, Κασσίῳ δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα 3 ἐπέτρεψεν. καὶ ὃς ἐπιόντα τε τὸν Οὐολόγαισον γενναίως ὑπέμεινε, καὶ τέλος ἐγκαταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ ὀπίσω ἀναχωρήσαντα ἐπεδίωξε, μέχρι τε Σελευκείας καὶ Κτησιφῶντος ἤλασε, καὶ τήν τε Σελεύκειαν διέφθειρεν ἐμπρήσας, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Οὐολογαίσου βασίλεια τὰ ἐν τῇ 4 Κτησιφῶντι κατέσκαψεν. ἐν γε μὴν τῇ ὑποστροφῇ πλείστους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καὶ νόσου ἀπέβαλεν, ἀπενόστησε δ' ὅμως ἐς τὴν Συρίαν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λούκιος τούτοις ἐπεκυδαίνετο καὶ μέγα ἐφρόνει, οὐ μὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἄκρας εὐτυχίας 3, 1[1] ἐς ἀγαθόν τι ἀπέβη· λέγεται γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῷ πενθερῷ Μάρκῳ ἐπιβεβουλευκώς, πρίν τι καὶ δρᾶσαι, φαρμάκῳ διαφθαρῆναι.—Xiph. 258, 9–259, 10 R. St.

Ὅτι Μάρτιος Βῆρος τὸν Θουκυδίδην ἐκπέμπει καταγαγεῖν Σόαιμον[1] εἰς Ἀρμενίαν· ὃς δέει τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ περὶ πάντα τὰ προσπίπτοντα εὐβουλίᾳ τοῦ πρόσω εἴχετο ἐρρωμένως. ἦν δὲ ἱκανὸς ὁ Μάρτιος οὐ μόνον ὅπλοις βιάσασθαι τοὺς ἀντιπολέμους ἢ ὀξύτητι προλαβεῖν ἢ ἀπάτῃ κατασοφίσασθαι, ἥπερ ἐστὶ στρατηγῶν ἀλκή, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ πιθανῷ πεῖσαι καὶ δωρεαῖς μεγαλόφροσιν οἰκειώσασθαι καὶ ἐλπίδι ἀγαθῇ δελεάσαι. χάρις τε ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πρασσομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ λεγομένοις, τὸ μὲν ἀγανακτοῦν ἑκάστου καὶ τὸ θυμούμενον παραμυθουμένη, τὸ δὲ ἔλπιζον ἔτι μᾶλλον αὔξουσα. κολακείας τε καὶ[2]

A.D. 162

the best of the leaders under his personal command, he took up his own headquarters in the city, where he made all the dispositions and assembled the supplies for the war, while he entrusted the armies to Cassius. The latter made a noble stand against the attack of Vologaesus, and finally, when the king was deserted by his allies and began to retire, he pursued him as far as Seleucia and Ctesiphon, destroying Seleucia by fire and razing to the ground the palace of Vologaesus at Ctesiphon. In returning, he lost a great many of his soldiers through famine and disease, yet he got back to Syria with the survivors. Lucius gloried in these exploits and took great pride in them, yet his extreme good fortune did him no good; for he is said to have engaged in a plot later against his father-in-law Marcus and to have perished by poison before he could carry out any of his plans.

A.D. 165

Martius Verus sent out Thucydides to conduct Sohaemus into Armenia, and this general, thanks to the terror inspired by his arms and to the natural good judgment that he showed in every situation, kept pressing vigorously forward. Now Martius had the ability not only to overpower his antagonists by force of arms, to anticipate them by swiftness, or to outwit them by strategy, which is the true strength of a general, but also to persuade them by plausible promises, to conciliate them by generous gifts, and to tempt them by bright hopes. There was a quality of charm about all that he said or did, a charm that soothed the vexation and anger of everyone while raising their hopes even more. He knew the proper

A.D. 164

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[1] Σόαιμον Val., σύαιμον MSS. [2] καὶ supplied by Bk.

δώρων καὶ τῆς παρὰ τραπέζαις δεξιώσεως καιρὸν ᾔδει. οἷς προσὸν τὸ πρὸς τὰς πράξεις σύντονον καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σὺν ὀξύτητι δραστήριον, αἱρετώτερον ἐδείκνυε τοῖς βαρβάροις εἶναι τῆς φιλίας αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἔχθρας ἀντιποιεῖσθαι. ἀφικόμενος οὖν εἰς τὴν Καινὴν πόλιν, ἣν φρουρὰ Ῥωμαίων κατεῖχεν ἐκ Πρίσκου καταστᾶσα, νεωτερίζειν πειρωμένους λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ σωφρονίσας, ἀπέφηνε πρώτην εἶναι τῆς Ἀρμενίας. —Suidas *s. v.* *Μάρτιος.*

Ζεύγνυται δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπονώτατα τῶν ποταμῶν τὰ ῥεύματα, ἅτε καὶ τοῦτο διὰ μελέτης ἀεὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν πολεμικῶν ὂν καὶ[1] *ἀσκούμενον ἐπί τε Ἴστρῳ καὶ Ῥήνῳ καὶ Εὐφράτῃ. ἔστι δὲ ὁ τρόπος (οὐ γὰρ δὴ πάντας εἰκὸς*[2] *εἰδέναι) τοιόσδε. πλατεῖαι μέν εἰσιν αἱ νῆες δι᾽ ὧν ὁ ποταμὸς ζεύγνυται, ἀνορμίζονται δὲ ὀλίγον ἄνω τοῦ ῥεύματος ὑπὲρ τὸν μέλλοντα ζεύγνυσθαι τόπον. ἐπὰν δὲ τὸ σημεῖον δοθῇ, ἀφιᾶσι πρώτην μίαν ναῦν κατὰ ῥοῦν φέρεσθαι πλησίον τῆς οἰκείας ὄχθης. ἐπὰν δὲ κατὰ τὸν ζευγνύμενον ἥκῃ τόπον, ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὸ ῥεῦμα φορμὸν λίθων ἐμπεπλησμένον, καλῳδίῳ δήσαντες, ὥσπερ ἄγκυραν· ἀφ᾽ οὗ δεθεῖσα ἡ ναῦς πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ ἵσταται, καὶ*[3] *σανίσι καὶ ζεύγμασιν, ἅπερ ἄφθονα αὐτοῖς ἡ ναῦς φέρει, παραχρῆμα μέχρι τῆς ἀποβάσεως καταστρώννυται. εἶτα ἄλλην ἀφιᾶσιν ὀλίγον ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης, καὶ ἄλλην ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνης, ἔστ᾽ ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ὄχθην ἐλάσωσι τὸ*

[1] *ὂν καὶ* supplied by Val. (after *στρατιώταις*) and Bs.
[2] *εἰκὸς* supplied by Bernhardy.
[3] *καὶ* supplied by Bs.

time for flattery and presents and entertainment at table. And since in addition to these talents he showed perseverance in his undertakings and energy combined with swiftness against his foes, he made it plain to the barbarians that his friendship was more worth striving for than his enmity. So when he arrived in the New City, which was held by a garrison of Romans placed there by Priscus, and found them attempting a mutiny, he took pains both by word and by deed to bring them to a better temper; and he made this place the foremost city of Armenia.

A.D. 164

Rivers are bridged by the Romans with the greatest ease, since the soldiers are always practising bridge-building, which is carried on like any other warlike exercise, on the Ister, the Rhine, and the Euphrates. Now the method of procedure—which probably is not familiar to everybody—is as follows. The ships by means of which the river is to be bridged are flat-bottomed, and these are anchored a little way up-stream from the spot where the bridge is to be constructed. Then, when the signal is given, they first let one ship drift down-stream close to the bank that they are holding; and when it has come opposite to the spot that is to be bridged, they throw into the stream a wicker-basket filled with stones and fastened by a cable, which serves as an anchor. Made fast in this way, the ship remains in position near the bank, and by means of planks and bridge-work, which the vessel carries in large quantity, a floor is at once laid to the landing-place. Then they send down another ship at a little distance from the first, and another one beyond that, until they have extended the bridge to the opposite bank.

ζεῦγμα. ἡ δὲ πρὸς τῇ πολεμίᾳ ναῦς καὶ πύργους ἐπ' αὐτῇ καὶ πυλίδα καὶ τοξότας καὶ καταπέλτας φέρει.

Βαλλομένων δὲ τῶν βελῶν πολλῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ζευγνύντας, ὁ Κάσσιος ἀφιέναι βέλη καὶ καταπέλτας κελεύει. πεσόντων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν πρώτων ἐφεστηκότων οἱ[1] ἕτεροι εἶκον.[2]—Suidas *s. v.* ζεῦγμα.

The ship that is nearest the enemy's bank carries towers upon it and a gate and archers and catapults. A.D. 164

As many missiles were being hurled at the men engaged in bridging, Cassius ordered missiles and catapults to be discharged. And when the first ranks of the barbarians fell, the rest gave way.

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[1] *οἱ* supplied by Rk.
[2] *εἶκον* Val., *ἧκον* MSS.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXII

LXXI, 3, 1[2] Τὸν μέντοι Κάσσιον ὁ Μᾶρκος τῆς Ἀσίας ἁπάσης ἐπιτροπεύειν ἐκέλευσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον βαρβάροις, Ἰάζυξί τε καὶ Μαρκομάνοις, ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις χρόνον συχνὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν δι' ὅλου τοῦ βίου, τὴν Παννονίαν[1] ἔχων ὁρμητήριον, ἐπολέμησε.—Xiph. 259, 10—13 R. St.

1[a] Ὅτι Λαγγιοβάρδων καὶ Ὀβίων ἑξακισχιλίων τὸν Ἴστρον περαιωθέντων, τῶν περὶ Βίνδικα ἱππέων ἐξελασάντων καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Κάνδιδον πεζῶν ἐπιφθασάντων, εἰς παντελῆ φυγὴν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτράποντο, ἐφ' οἷς οὕτω πραχθεῖσιν ἐν δέει καταστάντες ἐκ πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως οἱ βάρβαροι, πρέσβεις παρὰ Ἰάλλιον Βάσσον[2] τὴν Παννονίαν[3] διέποντα στέλλουσι, Βαλλομάριόν τε τὸν βασιλέα Μαρκομάνων[4] καὶ ἑτέρους δέκα, κατ' ἔθνος ἐπιλεξάμενοι ἕνα. καὶ ὅρκοις τὴν εἰρήνην οἱ πρέσβεις πιστωσάμενοι οἴκαδε χωροῦσιν.—Petr. Patr. *exc. de leg.*[G] 6 (Hoesch. p. 15 = fr. 6 Muell. *Fragm. hist. gr.* 4 p. 186).

2 Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥῆνον Κελτῶν μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἤλασαν, καὶ πολλὰ ἔδρασαν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους δεινά· οἷς ὁ Μᾶρκος ἀντεπιὼν Πομπηιανόν τε καὶ Περτίνακα τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἀντικαθίστη. καὶ ἠρίστευσεν ὁ Περτίναξ, ὅστις καὶ ὕστερον αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο. ἐν μέντοι τοῖς νεκροῖς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ γυναικῶν σώματα

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXII

Cassius, however, was ordered by Marcus to have charge of all Asia. The emperor himself fought for a long time, in fact, almost his entire life, one might say, with the barbarians in the region of the Ister, with both the Iazyges and the Marcomani, one after the other, using Pannonia as his base. A.D. 166(?)

Six thousand Langobardi and Obii crossed the Ister, but the cavalry under Vindex issued forth and the infantry commanded by Candidus arrived, so that the barbarians were completely routed. Then, thrown into consternation by such an outcome to their very first undertaking, the barbarians sent envoys to Iallius Bassus, the governor of Pannonia, choosing for the purpose Ballomarius, king of the Marcomani, and ten others, one for each nation. These envoys made peace, which they ratified with oaths, and then returned home. A.D. 166(?)

Many of the Germans, too, from across the Rhine, advanced as far as Italy and inflicted many injuries upon the Romans. They were in turn attacked by Marcus, who opposed to them his lieutenants Pompeianus and Pertinax; and Pertinax (who later became emperor) greatly distinguished himself. Among the corpses of the barbarians there were

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[1] Παννονίαν Reim., παιονίαν VC Zon.

[2] Ἰάλλιον Βάσσον Conrad, ἁλιὸν βασον AB, ἀλιόν βασον M, Αἴλιον Βάσσον Val.

[3] Παννονίαν Bs., παιονίαν MSS.

[4] Μαρκομάνων Bs., Μαρκομάννων AM, μαρκομάνη B.

3 ὡπλισμένα εὑρέθη. καίτοι δὲ ἰσχυροτάτου ἀγῶνος καὶ λαμπρᾶς νίκης γεγενημένης, ὅμως ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ αἰτηθεὶς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἔδωκε χρήματα, αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλεῖόν τι παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς λάβωσι, τοῦτ' ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν τε γονέων σφῶν καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν 4 ἐσπεπράξεται·[1] περὶ γάρ τοι τῆς αὐταρχίας ὁ θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται.[2] οὕτω καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ ἐγκρατῶς αὐτῶν ἦρχεν, ὥστε καίπερ ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πολέμοις ὢν μηδὲν ἔξω τοῦ προσήκοντος μήτ' ἐκ κολακείας μήτ' ἐκ φόβου ποιῆσαι.—Xiph. 259, 13—26 R. St.

11 Ὅτι ὁ Μᾶρκος Ἀντωνῖνος ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ κατέμεινεν, ἵνα καὶ ταῖς τῶν βαρβάρων πρεσβείαις χρηματίζῃ. πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθον, οἱ μὲν συμμαχίας ὑπισχνούμενοι, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Βαττάριος[3] παῖς ἐτῶν δώδεκα, καὶ χρήματά τε ἔλαβον, καὶ Τάρβον δυνάστην πλησιόχωρόν σφων, ἔς τε τὴν Δακίαν ἐλθόντα καὶ ἀργύριον αἰτοῦντα, ἀπειλοῦντά τε πολεμήσειν 2 εἰ μὴ λάβοι, ἀνεῖρξαν· οἱ δὲ εἰρήνην αἰτούμενοι, ὥσπερ οἱ Κούαδοι, καὶ ἔτυχόν γε αὐτῆς, ἵνα τε ἀπὸ τῶν Μαρκομάνων ἀποσπασθῶσι, καὶ ὅτι ἵππους καὶ βοῦς πολλὰς ἔδωκαν, τούς τε αὐτομόλους πάντας καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πρότερον μὲν ἐς μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ 3 τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τῆς[4] ἐπιμιξίας τῆς ἐν[5] ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ἔτυχον,

[1] ἐσπεπράξεται St., εἰσπράξεται VC.
[2] Cf. Petr. Patric.: τὸ δὲ κράτος τῆς αὐταρχίας οὐκ ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεῷ κεῖται.
[3] Βαττάριος A, βατάριος BM.

found even women's bodies in armour. Yet, though a mighty struggle had taken place and a brilliant victory had been won, the emperor nevertheless refused the request of the soldiers for a donative, declaring that whatever they obtained over and above the regular amount would be wrung from the blood of their parents and kinsmen; as for the fate of the sovereignty, Heaven alone could determine that.[1] So temperately and so firmly did he rule them, that, even when involved in so many and so great wars, he did naught that was unseemly either by way of flattery or as the result of fear. A.D. 168(?)

Marcus Antoninus remained in Pannonia in order to give audience to the embassies of the barbarians; for many came to him at this time also. Some of them, under the leadership of Battarius, a boy twelve years old, promised an alliance; these received a gift of money and succeeded in restraining Tarbus, a neighbouring chieftain, who had come into Dacia and was demanding money and threatening to make war if he should fail to get it. Others, like the Quadi, asked for peace, which was granted them, both in the hope that they might be detached from the Marcomani, and also because they gave him many horses and cattle and promised to surrender all the deserters and the captives, besides,—thirteen thousand at first, and later all the others as well. The right to attend the markets, however, was not A.D. 169-70

[1] Or, as Patricius puts it: "the power of the sovereignty depended, not on the soldiers, but on God."

[4] τῆς Leuncl., τοὺς MSS.
[5] τῆς ἐν Bk., καὶ ἐν MSS.

ἵνα μὴ καὶ οἱ Μαρκομάνοι οἵ τε Ἰάζυγες, οὓς οὔτε δέξεσθαι[1] οὔτε διήσειν διὰ τῆς χώρας ὠμωμόκεσαν, ἅμα μιγνύωνταί σφισι καὶ ὡς Κούαδοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὄντες τά τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατασκέπτωνται καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀγοράζωσιν. οὗτοί τε οὖν πρὸς τὸν Μᾶρκον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ἕτεροι συχνοὶ παραδώσοντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν κατὰ 4 γένη οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐστρατεύσαντο ἄλλοσέ ποι πεμφθέντες, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἁλισκομένων τῶν τε αὐτομολούντων οἱ[2] δυνάμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ γῆν οἱ μὲν ἐν Δακίᾳ οἱ δὲ ἐν Παννονίᾳ οἱ δὲ Μυσίᾳ καὶ 5 Γερμανίᾳ τῇ τε Ἰταλίᾳ αὐτῇ ἔλαβον. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ τινὲς οἰκοῦντες ἐνεωτέρισαν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχεῖν τολμῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐδένα τῶν βαρβάρων ἐσήγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς προαφιγμένους ἐξῴκισεν. —Exc. U[G] 57 (p. 407), Suid. *s. vv.* ἀνεῖργεν *et* διήσειν.

6 Ὅτι ἦλθον καὶ Ἄστιγγοι καὶ Λάκριγγοι εἰς βοήθειαν τοῦ Μάρκου.—Petr. Patr. *exc. de leg.*[G] 8 (Hoesch. p. 16 = fr. 7 Muell. *Fragm. hist. gr.* 4 p. 186).

12 Ὅτι Ἄστιγγοι, ὧν Ῥᾶός τε καὶ Ῥάπτος ἡγοῦντο, ἦλθον μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν οἰκῆσαι[3] ἐλπίδι τοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ χώραν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ λήψεσθαι, μὴ τυχόντες δὲ αὐτῶν παρακατέθεντο τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῷ Κλήμεντι ὡς καὶ τὴν τῶν Κοστουβώκων χώραν τοῖς ὅπλοις κτησόμενοι, νικήσαντες δὲ ἐκείνους καὶ τὴν Δακίαν 2 οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐλύπουν. δείσαντες δὲ οἱ Λάκριγγοι[4] μὴ καὶ ὁ Κλήμης φοβηθείς σφας ἐς τὴν γῆν ἣν

granted to them, for fear that the Iazyges and the Marcomani, whom they had sworn not to receive nor to allow to pass through their country, should mingle with them, and passing themselves off for Quadi, should reconnoitre the Roman positions and purchase provisions. Besides these that came to Marcus, many others sent envoys, some by tribes and some by nations, and offered to surrender. Some of them were sent on campaigns elsewhere, as were also the captives and deserters who were fit for service; others received land in Dacia, Pannonia, Moesia, the province of Germany, and in Italy itself. Some of them, now, who settled at Ravenna, made an uprising and even went so far as to seize possession of the city: and for this reason Marcus did not again bring any of the barbarians into Italy, but even banished those who had previously come there.

A.D. 169–70

Both the Astingi and the Lacringi came to the assistance of Marcus.

The Astingi, led by their chieftains Raüs and Raptus, came into Dacia with their entire households, hoping to secure both money and land in return for their alliance. But failing of their purpose, they left their wives and children under the protection of Clemens, until they should acquire the land of the Costoboci by their arms; but upon conquering that people, they proceeded to injure Dacia no less than before. The Lacringi, fearing that Clemens in his dread of them might lead these

[1] *δέξεσθαι* Reim., *δέξασθαι* MSS. Suid.

[2] *οἱ* supplied by Leuncl.

[3] *οἰκῆσαι* corrupt; Bs. suggests *πανοικησίᾳ* ("with their entire households").

[4] *Λάκριγγοι* Salmasius, *δάγκριγοι* MSS.

αὐτοὶ ἐνῴκουν ἐσαγάγῃ, ἐπέθεντο αὐτοῖς μὴ προσδεχομένοις καὶ πολὺ ἐκράτησαν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον τοὺς Ἀστίγγους πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πρᾶξαι, πολλὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν Μᾶρκον ἱκετεύσαντας χρήματά τε παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ χώραν γε ἀπαιτῆσαι, ἄν γέ τι κακὸν τοὺς 3 *τότε πολεμοῦντάς οἱ δράσωσι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἔπραξάν τι ὧν ὑπέσχοντο, Κοτινοὶ δὲ ἐπηγγείλαντο*[1] *μὲν*[2] *αὐτοῖς ὅμοια, Ταρρουτήνιον*[3] *δὲ Πάτερνον τὸν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς Λατίνας διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα παραλαβόντες ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαρκομάνους αὐτῷ συστρατεύσοντες*[4] *οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐποίησαν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον δεινῶς ἐκάκωσαν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπώλοντο.* —Exc. U^G 58 (p. 408).

3, 5 *Τῶν δὲ Μαρκομάνων εὐτυχησάντων ἔν τινι μάχῃ καὶ τὸν Οὐίνδικα*[5] *τὸν Μᾶρκον ἔπαρχον ὄντα ἀποκτεινάντων, τούτῳ μὲν τρεῖς ἀνδριάντας ἔστησε, κρατήσας δὲ αὐτῶν Γερμανικὸς ὠνομάσθη· Γερμανοὺς γὰρ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χωρίοις οἰκοῦντας ὀνομάζομεν.*

4 *Καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ Βουκόλοι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κινηθέντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰγυπτίους προσαποστήσαντες ὑπὸ ἱερεῖ τινὶ*[6] *Ἰσιδώρῳ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν γυναικείοις στολαῖς τὸν ἑκατόνταρχον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἠπατηκότες*[7] *ὡς δὴ γυναῖκες τῶν Βουκόλων καὶ χρυσία δώσουσαι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ*

[1] ἐπηγγείλαντο Bk., ἐσηγγείλαντο MSS.
[2] μὲν supplied by Bk.
[3] Ταρρουτήνιον Reim., ταρρούνιον MSS.
[4] συστρατεύσοντες Leuncl., συστρατεύοντες MSS.
[5] Οὐίνδικα Bk., βίνδικα VC.
[6] τινὶ Rk., τινὶ καὶ VC.

newcomers into the land which they themselves were inhabiting, attacked them while off their guard and won a decisive victory. As a result, the Astingi committed no further acts of hostility against the Romans, but in response to urgent supplications addressed to Marcus they received from him both money and the privilege of asking for land in case they should inflict some injury upon those who were then fighting against him. Now this tribe really did fulfil some of its promises; whereas the Cotini, though they made similar offers, nevertheless, upon receiving Tarrutenius Paternus, the secretary in charge of the emperor's Latin correspondence, on the pretext that they wished to make a campaign with him against the Marcomani, not only failed to do so, but even treated Paternus himself shamefully, thereby bringing about their own destruction later.

A.D. 169–70

When the Marcomani were successful in a certain battle and slew Marcus Vindex, the prefect, the emperor erected three statues in his honour; and after conquering the foe he himself received the title of Germanicus (for we give the name of Germans to those who dwell in the northern regions).

A.D. 171 (?)

A.D. 172

The people called the Bucoli[1] began a disturbance in Egypt and under the leadership of one Isidorus, a priest, caused the rest of the Egyptians to revolt. At first, arrayed in women's garments, they had deceived the Roman centurion, causing him to believe that they were women of the Bucoli and were going to give him gold as ransom for their

A.D. 172–173

[1] This name (literally "Herdsmen") was given to the population of a district in the Delta near Alexandria.

[7] ἠπατηκότες H. Steph., ἠπατηκότας VC.

τῶν ἀνδρῶν προσιόντα σφίσι κατέκοψαν, καὶ τὸν συνόντα αὐτῷ καταθύσαντες ἐπί τε τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτοῦ συνώμοσαν καὶ ἐκεῖνα κατέ-
2 φαγον· ἦν δὲ Ἰσίδωρος ἀνδρίᾳ πάντων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἄριστος· ἔπειτα ἐκ παρατάξεως τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ῥωμαίους νικήσαντες μικροῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἷλον, εἰ μὴ Κάσσιος ἐκ Συρίας πεμφθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ στρατηγήσας ὥστε τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σφῶν ὁμόνοιαν λῦσαι καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποχωρίσαι (διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐθάρρησε συμβαλεῖν ἀθρόοις αὐτοῖς), οὕτω δὴ στασιάσαντας ἐχειρώσατο.

5 Ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τοῦ Μάρκου τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Γερμανούς, ἵνα καὶ ταῦτα μνήμης ἀξιωθείη, μειράκιον μὲν αἰχμάλωτον ἐρωτηθέν τι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ "οὐ δύναμαι" ἔφη "ἀποκρίνασθαί σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥίγους· ὥστε εἴ τι μαθεῖν ἐθέλεις, κέλευσόν μοι
2 ἱματίδιόν τι, εἴγε ἔχεις, δοθῆναι·" στρατιώτης δέ τις νυκτὸς φυλακὴν τοῦ Ἴστρου ποιούμενος, καί τινα βοὴν ἐκ τῆς περαίας συστρατιωτῶν ἑαλωκότων ἀκούσας, διενήξατό τε εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχε, καὶ λύσας αὐτοὺς ἀνεκομίσθη.—Xiph. 259, 26—260, 6; 249, 27—250, 7 R. St.

Ἦν δὲ τῷ Μάρκῳ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὁ Βασσαῖος[1] ἔπαρχος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀγαθός, ἀπαίδευτος δὲ ὑπ' ἀγροικίας, καὶ τὰ πρῶτά γε τοῦ βίου ἐν
3 πενίᾳ τραφείς· ἀναδενδράδα δέ ποτε αὐτὸν κλῶντα ἀνέλαβέ[2] τις, καὶ ἐπειδή γε μὴ εὐθὺς ἅμα τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι κατέβη, ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔφη "ἄγε,[3] ἔπαρχε, κατάβηθι." τοῦτο

[1] ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὁ Βασσαῖος Reim., ὁ ῥοῦσος ὁ βασαῖος VC.
[2] ἀνέλαβέ C, συνέλαβέ V.
[3] ἄγε V, ὦ γε C.

husbands, and had then struck him down when he approached them. They also sacrificed his companion, and after swearing an oath over his entrails, they devoured them. Isidorus surpassed all his contemporaries in bravery. Next, having conquered the Romans in Egypt in a pitched battle, they came near capturing Alexandria, too, and would have succeeded, had not Cassius been sent against them from Syria. He contrived to destroy their mutual accord and to separate them from one another (for because of their desperation as well as of their numbers he had not ventured to attack them while they were united), and thus, when they fell to quarrelling, he subdued them.

A.D. 172–173

It was during Marcus' war against the Germans that the following incidents occurred (I hope these anecdotes may be thought worthy of record). A captive lad, on being asked a question by him, replied: "I cannot answer you because of the cold. So, if you want to find out anything, command that a coat be given me, if you have one." And a soldier who was doing guard duty one night on the Ister, upon hearing a shout from his fellow-soldiers in captivity on the other side, at once swam across just as he was, released them, and then returned.

One of the prefects of Marcus was Bassaeus Rufus, who was a good man in other respects, but was uneducated because of his rustic origin and had been reared in poverty in his youth. On a certain occasion someone had checked him while he was engaged in pruning a vine that grew upon a tree, and when he did not come down at the first summons, the man had rebuked him and said: "Come now, prefect, get down." That is, he had

γὰρ ὡς καὶ πρὸς ὑπερηφανοῦντα καὶ τεταπεινωμένον αὐτὸν εἶπεν· ὅπερ ἡ τύχη μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν.—Xiph. 250, 7—14 R. St.

Ὅτι ὁ Μάρκος ἐλάλει πρός τινα τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκεῖνος ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις τῶν παρόντων ἔγνω τὸ λαληθέν, ὥστε Ῥοῦφον τὸν ἔπαρχον εἰπεῖν "εἰκός ἐστι, Καῖσαρ, μὴ γνῶναι αὐτὸν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν λαληθέντα· οὔτε γὰρ ἑλληνιστὶ ἐπίσταται." καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἠγνόηκε τὸ λεχθέν.—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 117 (p. 223 Mai. = p. 206, 14—49 Dind.).

6 Ὁ δ' αὐτοκράτωρ ὁσάκις ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου σχολὴν ἦγεν, ἐδίκαζε, καὶ ὕδωρ πλεῖστον τοῖς ῥήτορσι μετρεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε,[1] τάς τε πύστεις καὶ τὰς ἀνακρίσεις ἐπὶ μακρότερον ἐποιεῖτο, ὥστε πανταχόθεν τὸ δίκαιον ἀκριβοῦν. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἕνδεκα πολλάκις καὶ δώδεκα[2] ἡμέραις τὴν αὐτὴν δίκην, καίπερ νυκτὸς ἔστιν ὅτε δικάζων, ἔκρινε. 2 φιλόπονος γὰρ ἦν, καὶ ἀκριβῶς πᾶσι τοῖς τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκουσι προσεφέρετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐν παρέργῳ οὔτε ἔλεγεν οὔτε ἔγραφεν οὔτε

Ὅτι ὁ Μᾶρκος οὐδ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ συνετὰ ἐφθέγγετο· ἦν γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀγαθός, ἀπαίδευτος δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγροικίας.—Exc. Val. 302 (p. 717).

Ὅτι οὐδὲ ἑκὼν ἐστράτευτο, ἀλλ' ἀναδενδράδα εὑρεθεὶς κλῶν. (ὕστερον δὲ βασιλεύσας.)—Exc. Val. 303 (p. 717).

[1] ἐκέλευε Zon., ἐκέλευσε VC.
[2] καὶ ἕνδεκα . . . καὶ δώδεκα R. Steph., καὶ ἐν δέκα . . . καὶ ἐν δώδεκα VC.

used this title in speaking to him as to one who was now bearing himself haughtily but had formerly been of lowly station ; and it was precisely this title that Fortune subsequently gave him. A.D. 172

Once when Marcus was talking to someone in Latin and not only the man addressed but no one else of the bystanders, either, knew what he had said, Rufus, the prefect, exclaimed : "No wonder, Caesar, that he does not know what you said ; for he does not understand Greek either." Indeed, he himself was ignorant of what had been said.

The emperor, as often as he had leisure from war, would hold court ; he used to allow abundant time to the speakers,[1] and entered into the preliminary inquiries and examinations at great length, so as to ensure strict justice by every possible means. In consequence, he would often be trying the same case for as much as eleven or twelve days, even though he sometimes held court at night. For he was industrious and applied himself diligently to all the duties of his office ; and he neither said, wrote, nor did anything as if it were a minor matter, but

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Marcus was uttering words that were unintelligible even to this man [Rufus] himself ; for though he was a good man in other respects, he was uneducated because of his rustic origin.

He had not gone on the campaign voluntarily, but had been found pruning a vine that grew upon a tree.

[1] Literally, "used to order a most liberal supply of water to be measured out for the speakers." The time allowed the speakers in Greek and Roman courts was measured by the *clepsydra*, or water-clock.

ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ περὶ τοῦ βραχυτάτου ἡμέρας ὅλας ἀνήλισκεν, οὐκ ἀξιῶν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τι πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν ὅτι κἂν ἐλάχιστόν τι παρίδῃ, διαβολὴν αὐτῷ 3 τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα οἴσει. καίτοι οὕτως ἀσθενὴς τῷ σώματι ἐγένετο ὥστε μήτε τὸ ψῦχος τήν γε[1] πρώτην ὑπομεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς στρατιώταις συνεληλυθόσιν ἤδη κατὰ τὸ παρηγγελμένον ἀναχωρῆσαι, καὶ τροφὴν βραχυτάτην, καὶ ταύτην ἐν νυκτὶ ἀεί, λαμβάνειν. 4 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅ τι[2] μεθ' ἡμέραν πλὴν τοῦ φαρμάκου τοῦ θηριακοῦ καλουμένου ἐσιτεῖτο. ἐλάμβανε δὲ τοῦ φαρμάκου οὐχ οὕτως ὅτι ἐδεδίει τι, ὡς ὅτι τοῦ τε στομάχου καὶ τοῦ θώρακος φαύλως εἶχε· καί φασιν ὅτι δι' ἐκεῖνο ἀνταρκεῖν[3] πρός τε τἆλλα καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐδύνατο.

7 Τοὺς δὲ Ἰάζυγας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔν τε τῇ γῇ τότε[4] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἐνίκησαν. λέγω δὲ οὐχ ὅτι ναυμαχία τις ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι διὰ τοῦ Ἴστρου πεπηγότος φεύγουσί σφισιν ἐπακολουθήσαντες καὶ ἐκεῖ ὡς ἐν ἠπείρῳ ἐμα- 2 χέσαντο. αἰσθόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Ἰάζυγες ὅτι ἐπιδιώκονται, ὑπέστησαν αὐτοὺς ἐλπίσαντες ῥᾳδίως ἅτε καὶ ἀήθεις τοῦ κρυστάλλου ὄντας κατεργάσεσθαι,[5] καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς συνέρραξαν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων παριππεύσαντες· οἱ γὰρ ἵπποι σφῶν δεδιδαγμένοι καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ θεῖν 3 ἀσφαλῶς ἦσαν. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν, ἀλλὰ συστραφέντες καὶ πᾶσιν ἅμα αὐτοῖς ἀντιμέτωποι γενόμενοι τάς τε ἀσπίδας

[1] γε H. Steph., τε VC.
[2] ὅ τι H. Steph., ὅτε VC.

sometimes he would consume whole days over the minutest point, not thinking it right that the emperor should do anything hurriedly. For he believed that if he should slight even the smallest detail, this would bring reproach upon all his other actions. Yet he was so frail in body that at first he could not endure the cold, but even after the soldiers had assembled at his command he would retire before addressing a word to them; and he took but very little food and that always at night. It was never his practice to eat during the daytime, unless it were some of the drug called theriac. This drug he took, not so much because he feared anything, as because his stomach and chest were in bad condition; and it is reported that this practice enabled him to endure both this and other maladies.

A.D. 172

The Iazyges were conquered by the Romans on land at this time and later on the river. By this I do not mean that any naval battle took place, but that the Romans pursued them as they fled over the frozen Ister and fought there as on dry land. The Iazyges, perceiving that they were being pursued, awaited their opponents' onset, expecting to overcome them easily, as the others were not accustomed to the ice. Accordingly, some of the barbarians dashed straight at them, while others rode round to attack their flanks, as their horses had been trained to run safely even over a surface of this kind. The Romans upon observing this were not alarmed, but formed in a compact body, facing all their foes at once, and most of them laid down their shields and rested one

A.D. 172(?) 173(?)

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[3] δι' ἐκεῖνο ἀνταρκεῖν St., δι' ἐκεῖνα αὐταρκεῖν VC.
[4] τότε Bk., ποτὲ τότε VC.
[5] κατεργάσεσθαι Dind., κατεργάσασθαι VC.

οἱ πλείους ἔθηκαν, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἧττον ὀλισθαίνωσιν, ἀπερείσαντες ἐδέξαντό σφας προσπεσόντας, καὶ ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι οἱ μὲν τῶν χαλινῶν οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τῶν τε 4 κοντῶν ἐπεσπῶντο αὐτούς, κἀκ τούτου συμπλεκόμενοι κατέβαλλον καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους· ἐκ γάρ τοι τῆς βίας οὐκέτ' ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὸν ὄλισθον ἐδύναντο. ὠλίσθαινον μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι· ἀλλ' εἴθ' ὕπτιός τις αὐτῶν ἔπεσε, συνεφείλκετο τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐς τοὐπίσω ἀνερρίπτει ὥσπερ ἐν πάλῃ, 5 καὶ οὕτως ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο· εἴτε καὶ ἐπὶ στόμα, κατελάμβανεν αὐτὸν προκαταπίπτοντα αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι καὶ ἄπειροι τοιουτοτρόπου[1] ἀγωνίας καὶ[2] κουφότεροι ὄντες οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἀντέχειν, ὥστε καὶ ἀπὸ πολλῶν ὀλίγοι διέφυγον.—Xiph. 250, 7—251, 22 R. St.

13 Ὅτι ἐπρεσβεύσαντο οἱ Ἰάζυγες εἰρήνης δεόμενοι πρὸς Μᾶρκον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔτυχόν τινος· ἄπιστόν τε γὰρ τὸ φῦλον αὐτῶν ὁ Μᾶρκος εἰδὼς ὄν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Κουάδων ἀπατηθείς, 2 ἐπίπαν ἐξελεῖν[3] ἠθέλησεν. οἱ γὰρ Κούαδοι οὐχ ὅτι ἐκείνοις τότε συνεμάχησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Μαρκομάνους πρότερον, ὡς ἔτι ἐπολέμουν, καταφεύγοντας ἐς τὴν σφετέραν ὅτε βιασθεῖεν ἐδέχοντο, καὶ οὔτ' ἄλλο τι ὧν ὡμολογήκεσαν ἐποίουν, οὔτε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀπέδοσαν ἀλλ' ὀλίγους, καὶ τούτους οἷς οὔτε ἐς πρᾶσιν οὔτε ἐς 3 ὑπηρεσίαν τινὰ χρήσασθαι ἐδύναντο. εἰ δ' οὖν τινὰς καὶ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ἀπεδίδοσαν, ἀλλὰ

[1] τοιουτοτρόπου Sylb., τοιουτοτρόπως VC.
[2] καὶ supplied by Reim.

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foot upon them, so that they might not slip so much; and thus they received the enemy's charge. Some seized the bridles, others the shields and spearshafts of their assailants, and drew the men toward them; and thus, becoming involved in close conflict, they knocked down both men and horses, since the barbarians by reason of their momentum could no longer keep from slipping. The Romans, to be sure, also slipped; but in case one of them fell on his back, he would drag his adversary down on top of him and then with his feet would hurl him backwards, as in a wrestling match, and so would get on top of him; and if one fell on his face, he would actually seize with his teeth his antagonist, who had fallen first. For the barbarians, being unused to a contest of this sort, and having lighter equipment, were unable to resist, so that but few escaped out of a large force.

Envoys were sent to Marcus by the Iazyges to request peace, but they did not obtain anything. For Marcus, both because he knew their race to be untrustworthy and also because he had been deceived by the Quadi, wished to annihilate them utterly. For the Quadi had not only fought on the side of the Iazyges at this time, but on an earlier occasion, too, had received in their own land any Marcomanian fugitives who were hard pressed while that tribe was still at war with the Romans. Moreover, they were not carrying out any of their agreements; in particular, they had not restored all the captives, but only a few, and these such as they could neither sell nor employ at any labour. Or, if they ever did give up any of those who were in good physical

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[3] ἐξελεῖν Bs., ἐξελθεῖν MSS.

τούς γε[1] συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν οἴκοι κατεῖχον, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς αὐτομολῶσι. καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν Φούρτιον ἐκβαλόντες[2] Ἀριόγαισον αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν βασιλέα σφίσιν ἐστήσαντο.
4 καὶ τούτοις διὰ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ οὔτε ἐκεῖνον ὡς καὶ νόμῳ τινὶ γεγονότα ἐβεβαίωσεν, οὔτε τὰς σπονδάς, καίπερ πέντε μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνουμένοις, ἀνενεώσατο.—Exc. U[G] 59 (p. 409).

14 Ὅτι τῷ Ἀριογαίσῳ ὁ Μᾶρκος οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν ὥστε καὶ ἐπικηρῦξαι ἵνα, ἂν μέν τις ζῶντα αὐτὸν ἀγάγῃ, χιλίους, ἂν δὲ ἀποκτείνας τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποδείξῃ, πεντακοσίους χρυσοῦς λάβῃ, καίτοι τά τε ἄλλα ἀεί ποτε φιλανθρώπως
2 καὶ τοῖς πολεμιωτάτοις χρώμενος, καὶ Τιριδάτην σατράπην τά τε ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ταράξαντα καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἡνιόχων βασιλέα ἀποσφάξαντα, τῷ τε Οὐήρῳ ἐπιτιμῶντί οἱ περὶ τούτων τὸ ξίφος ἐπανατεινάμενον,[3] μὴ κτείνας ἀλλ' ἐς Βρεττανίαν πέμψας. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τότε ἐπ' αὐτὸν παρωξύνθη, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακόν τι ἁλόντα μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδρασεν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀπέστειλεν.—Exc. V. 304 (p. 717).

8 Μαρκομάνους μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰάζυγας πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ κινδύνοις Μᾶρκος ὑπέταξεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους Κουάδους καὶ πόλεμος αὐτῷ συνέστη μέγας καὶ νίκη παράδοξος εὐτυχήθη, μᾶλλον δὲ παρὰ θεοῦ ἐδωρήθη. κινδυνεύσαντας γὰρ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους

[1] γε Rk., τε MSS.
[2] ἐκβαλόντες Urs., ἐκβάλλοντες MSS.

condition, they would keep their relatives back in order that the men given up might desert again to rejoin these. They also expelled their king Furtius, and on their own responsibility made Ariogaesus their king instead. In consequence, the emperor neither recognized Ariogaesus as their legally constituted king nor renewed the treaty of peace, though they promised to give up fifty thousand captives if he would do so.

A.D. 172(?) 173(?)

Against Ariogaesus Marcus was so bitter that he issued a proclamation to the effect that anyone who brought him in alive should receive a thousand gold pieces, and anyone who slew him and exhibited his head, five hundred. Yet in general the emperor was always accustomed to treat even his most stubborn foes humanely; thus, when Tiridates, a satrap, stirred up trouble in Armenia and slew the king of the Heniochi, and then thrust his sword in Verus'[1] face when the latter rebuked him for it, he did not put him to death, but merely sent him to Britain. It can be seen from this, then, how exasperated he was against Ariogaesus at this time; nevertheless, when the man was later captured, he did him no harm, but merely sent him off to Alexandria.

A.D. 174

So Marcus subdued the Marcomani and the Iazyges after many hard struggles and dangers. A great war against the people called the Quadi also fell to his lot and it was his good fortune to win an unexpected victory, or rather it was vouchsafed him by Heaven. For when the Romans were in peril in the course of the battle, the divine power saved

[1] P. Martius Verus.

[2] ἐπανατεινάμενον Bk., ἐπανατεινόμενον cod. Peir.

2 *παραδοξότατα τὸ θεῖον ἐξέσωσε. κυκλωσάντων γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῶν Κουάδων ἐν τόποις ἐπιτηδείοις συνασπίσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προθύμως ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν μὲν μάχην ἐπέσχον, προσδοκήσαντές σφας ῥᾳδίως ὑπό τε τοῦ καύματος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δίψους αἱρήσειν, πάντα δὲ τὰ πέριξ διαλαβόντες ἀπέφραξαν, ὅπως μηδαμόθεν ὕδωρ λάβωσι· πολὺ γὰρ καὶ τῷ πλήθει περιῆσαν.*
3 *τῶν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καμάτου καὶ ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων τοῦ τε ἡλίου καὶ τοῦ δίψους γενομένων, καὶ μήτε μάχεσθαι διὰ ταῦτα μήτε χωρῆσαί πῃ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' ἔν τε τῇ τάξει καὶ τοῖς τόποις ἑστηκότων καὶ κατακαιομένων, νέφη πολλὰ ἐξαίφνης συνέδραμε καὶ*
4 *ὑετὸς πολὺς οὐκ ἀθεεὶ κατερράγη· καὶ γάρ τοι λόγος ἔχει Ἀρνοῦφίν τινα μάγον Αἰγύπτιον συνόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ ἄλλους τέ τινας δαίμονας καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἀέριον ὅτι μάλιστα μαγγανείαις τισὶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὸν ὄμβρον ἐπισπάσασθαι.*

9 *[Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ὁ Δίων φησίν, ἔοικε δὲ ψεύδεσθαι, εἴτε ἑκὼν εἴτε ἄκων. οἶμαι δὲ τὸ πλέον ἑκών· καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὔ, ὅστις οὐκ ἠγνόει τὸ τάγμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ κεραυνοβόλον ἰδίως καλούμενον (ἐν γὰρ τῷ τῶν λοιπῶν καταλόγῳ*
2 *καὶ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει), ὅπερ ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἑτέρας αἰτίας (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλη τις λέγεται) ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τόνδε συμβάντος τὸν πόλεμον οὕτω προση-*

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[1] This paragraph, it will be observed, is simply Xiphilinus' own comment on Dio's narrative.

[2] The reference is evidently to Book lv. 23, but it should

them in a most unexpected manner. The Quadi A.D. 174 had surrounded them at a spot favourable for their purpose and the Romans were fighting valiantly with their shields locked together; then the barbarians ceased fighting, expecting to capture them easily as the result of the heat and their thirst. So they posted guards all about and hemmed them in to prevent their getting water anywhere; for the barbarians were far superior in numbers. The Romans, accordingly, were in a terrible plight from fatigue, wounds, the heat of the sun, and thirst, and so could neither fight nor retreat, but were standing in the line and at their several posts, scorched by the heat, when suddenly many clouds gathered and a mighty rain, not without divine interposition, burst upon them. Indeed, there is a story to the effect that Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, who was a companion of Marcus, had invoked by means of enchantments various deities and in particular Mercury, the god of the air, and by this means attracted the rain.

[This is what Dio says about the matter,[1] but he is apparently in error, whether intentionally or otherwise; and yet I am inclined to believe his error was chiefly intentional. It surely must be so, for he was not ignorant of the division of soldiers that bore the special name of the "Thundering" Legion,—indeed he mentions it in the list along with the others,[2]—a title which was given it for no other reason (for no other is reported) than because of the incident that

be observed that the names, though very possibly having the same sense, are not identical; the legion is here called **κεραυνοβόλος** (*Fulminatrix*), but in the former passage **κεραυνοφόρος** (*Fulminifera*, *Fulminata*).

γορεύθη. ὃ καὶ αἴτιον τότε τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις τῆς σωτηρίας ἐγένετο καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Ἀρνοῦφις ὁ μάγος· οὐδὲ γὰρ μάγων συνουσίαις καὶ γοητείαις ὁ Μάρκος 3 *χαίρειν ἱστόρηται. ἔστι δὲ ὃ λέγω τοιοῦτον. τάγμα ἦν τῷ Μάρκῳ (καλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τάγμα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λεγεῶνα) τῶν ἀπὸ Μελιτηνῆς στρατιωτῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν πρεσβεύοντες ἅπαντες. ἐν οὖν τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ προσιόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ τὸν ἔπαρχον, ἀμηχανοῦντι πρὸς τὴν περίστασιν καὶ* 4 *δεδιότι περὶ σύμπαντι τῷ στρατῷ, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὡς οἱ καλούμενοι Χριστιανοὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐ δύνανται ταῖς εὐχαῖς, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ σφίσι τάγμα ὅλον τυγχάνει ὂν τούτου τοῦ γένους. τὸν οὖν Μάρκον ἀκούσαντα παρακλήσει χρήσασθαι πρὸς* 5 *αὐτοὺς ὡς ἂν εὔξωνται τῷ σφετέρῳ θεῷ, εὐξαμένων δὲ αὐτῶν παραχρῆμα ἐπακούσαντα τὸν θεὸν τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κεραυνῷ βαλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίους ὄμβρῳ παραμυθήσασθαι· ἐφ' οἷς καταπλαγέντα τὸν Μάρκον ἰσχυρῶς τούς τε Χριστιανοὺς κατὰ δόγμα τιμῆσαι καὶ τὴν λεγεῶνα* 6 *κεραυνοβόλον προσαγορεῦσαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολήν τινα περὶ τούτων εἶναι τοῦ Μάρκου. ἀλλ' οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὅτι μὲν τὸ τάγμα κεραυνοβόλον λέγεται, ἴσασι καὶ αὐτοὶ μαρτυροῦσι, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν τῆς προσηγορίας ἥκιστα λέγουσι.*

10 *Προστίθησι δὲ ὁ Δίων ὅτι] τοῦ ὄμβρου καταρραγέντος πρῶτον μὲν ἄνω πάντες ἀνέκυπτον καὶ ἐς τὰ στόματα αὐτὸν*[1] *ἐδέχοντο, ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν τὰς ἀσπίδας οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ κράνη ὑποβάλλοντες*

[1] αὐτὸν H. Steph., αὐτῶν VC.

occurred in this very war. It was precisely this A.D. 174 incident that saved the Romans on this occasion and brought destruction upon the barbarians, and not Arnuphis, the magician; for Marcus is not reported to have taken pleasure in the company of magicians or in witchcraft. Now the incident I have reference to is this: Marcus had a division of soldiers (the Romans call a division a legion) from Melitene; and these people are all worshippers of Christ. Now it is stated that in this battle, when Marcus found himself at a loss what to do in the circumstances and feared for his whole army, the prefect approached him and told him that those who are called Christians can accomplish anything whatever by their prayers and that in the army there chanced to be a whole division of this sect. Marcus on hearing this appealed to them to pray to their God; and when they had prayed, their God immediately gave ear and smote the enemy with a thunderbolt and comforted the Romans with a shower of rain. Marcus was greatly astonished at this and not only honoured the Christians by an official decree but also named the legion the "Thundering" Legion. It is also reported that there is a letter of Marcus extant on the subject. But the Greeks, though they know that the division was called the "Thundering" Legion and themselves bear witness to the fact, nevertheless make no statement whatever about the reason for its name.

Dio goes on to say that] when the rain poured down, at first all turned their faces upwards and received the water in their mouths; then some held out their shields and some their helmets to catch it, and they not only took deep draughts themselves

αὐτοί τε χανδὸν ἔσπων καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις πίνειν ἐδίδοσαν, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων σφίσιν ἐπιδρα-
2 μόντων ἔπινόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἤδη γέ τινες τιτρωσκόμενοι τό τε αἷμα περιχεόμενον ἐς τὰ κράνη καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἅμα ἀνερρόφουν. κἂν ἔπαθόν τι δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων αὐτοῖς, περὶ τὸ πίνειν οἱ πλείους ἠσχολημένοι, εἰ μὴ χάλαζα ἰσχυρὰ καὶ κεραυνοὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι
3 τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέπεσον. ἦν οὖν ὁρᾶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ ὕδωρ τε ἅμα καὶ πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα· καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑγραίνοντό τε καὶ ἔπινον, οἱ δὲ ἐπυροῦντο καὶ ἔθνησκον· καὶ οὔτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸ πῦρ ἥπτετο, ἀλλ' εἴ που καὶ προσέμιξέ σφισιν, εὐθὺς ἐσβέννυτο, οὔτε τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁ ὑετὸς ὠφέλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον τὴν φλόγα αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἔλαιον ἤγειρεν, ὕδωρ τε
4 ὑόμενοι ἐζήτουν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον ὡς καὶ τῷ αἵματι τὸ πῦρ κατασβέσοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προσέτρεχον ὡς καὶ μόνους σωτήριον ὕδωρ ἔχοντας· ἠλέησε γοῦν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ Μᾶρκος. παρὰ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
5 τὸ ἕβδομον αὐτοκράτωρ προσηγορεύθη. καίπερ δὲ οὐκ εἰωθώς, πρὶν τὴν βουλὴν ψηφίσασθαι, τοιοῦτόν τι προσίεσθαι, ὅμως ἐδέξατό τε αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνων, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλεν.

Ἡ μέντοι Φαυστῖνα μήτηρ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐπεκλήθη.—Xiph. 251, 22—24 + 260, 6—262, 5 R. St.

but also gave their horses to drink. And when the barbarians now charged upon them, they drank and fought at the same time; and some, becoming wounded, actually gulped down the blood that flowed into their helmets, along with the water. So intent, indeed, were most of them on drinking that they would have suffered severely from the enemy's onset, had not a violent hail-storm and numerous thunderbolts fallen upon the ranks of the foe. Thus in one and the same place one might have beheld water and fire descending from the sky simultaneously; so that while those on the one side were being drenched and drinking, the others were being consumed by fire and dying; and while the fire, on the one hand, did not touch the Romans, but, if it fell anywhere among them, was immediately extinguished, the shower, on the other hand, did the barbarians no good, but, like so much oil, actually fed the flames that were consuming them, and they had to search for water even while being drenched with rain. Some wounded themselves in order to quench the fire with their blood, and others rushed over to the side of the Romans, convinced that they alone had the saving water; in any case Marcus took pity on them. He was now saluted *imperator* by the soldiers, for the seventh time; and although he was not wont to accept any such honour before the senate voted it, nevertheless this time he took it as a gift from Heaven, and he sent a despatch to the senate.

A.D. 174

Moreover Faustina was given the title of "Mother of the Camp."[1]

A.D. 174(?) 175(?)

[1] *Mater Castrorum*; cf. *Hist. Aug.*, *Marc.* 26, 8, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* XIV. 40.

22,1 Τοῦ δὲ Περτίνακος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις ὑπατείαν λαβόντος, ὅμως ἦσαν οἳ[1] νεμεσῶντες ἐπὶ τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸ γένος ἐξ ἀφανῶν τὸ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἐπέλεγον,

"τοιαῦθ' ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται,"

οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ μοναρχήσει.[2]—Xiph. 262, 5—9 R. St.

15 Ὅτι τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις πρεσβεύσασιν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ προσταχθέντα σφίσι χαλεπῶς μὲν καὶ μόλις, ἐποίησαν δ' οὖν, τό τε ἥμισυ τῆς χώρας τῆς μεθορίας ἀνῆκεν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς[3] ὀκτώ που καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἴστρου ἀποικεῖν, καὶ τὰ χωρία τάς τε ἡμέρας τῆς ἐπιμιξίας ἀφώρισε (πρότερον γὰρ οὐ διεκέκριντο), τούς τε ὁμήρους ἠλλάξατο.[4]—Exc. U^{G} 60 (p. 410).

16 Ὅτι οἱ Ἰάζυγες κακωθέντες ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἦλθον, αὐτοῦ Ζαντικοῦ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἱκετεύσαντος. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ τὸν Βανάδασπον τὸν δεύτερόν σφων βασιλέα ἔδησαν, ὅτι διεκηρυκεύσατο αὐτῷ· τότε δὲ πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι μετὰ τοῦ Ζαντικοῦ ἦλθον, καὶ συνέθεντο τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς Κουάδοις καὶ τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τὸ διπλάσιον αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἴστρου ἀποικήσειν

[1] οἳ R. Steph., οἱ VC.
[2] Cf. Petr. Patr.: ὅτι ἐνόσησε σφόδρα ὁ Μάρκος ὥστε καὶ ὀλίγας ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σχεῖν, καὶ πολλάκις ἐν τῇ νόσῳ ἐπεφώνει τὸ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἰάμβιον

τοιαῦτα τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται.

—*Exc. Vat.* 118 (p. 223 Mai. = 206, 20—23 Dind.).
[3] αὐτοὺς Leuncl., αὐτοῖς MSS.
[4] ἠλλάξατο Reim., ἠλλάξαντο MSS.

When Pertinax as a reward for his brave exploits obtained the consulship, there were nevertheless some who showed displeasure in view of the fact that he was of obscure family, and they quoted this line from tragedy: A.D. 174(?) 175(?)

"Such things accursed war brings in its train."[1]

Little did they realize that he should be emperor as well.[2]

When the Marcomani sent envoys to him, Marcus, in view of the fact that they had fulfilled all the conditions imposed upon them, albeit grudgingly and reluctantly, restored to them one-half of the neutral zone along their frontier, so that they might now settle to within a distance of five miles[3] from the Ister; and he established the places and the days for their trading together (for these had not been previously fixed) and exchanged hostages with them. A.D. 175 (?)

The Iazyges were defeated and came to terms, Zanticus himself appearing as a suppliant before Antoninus. Previously they had imprisoned Banadaspus, their second king, for making overtures to him; but now all the chief men came with Zanticus and made the same compact as that to which the Quadi and the Marcomani had agreed, except that they were required to dwell twice as far away from A.D. 175

[1] Euripides, *Suppl.* 119.

[2] Cf. Petr. Patric.: "Marcus fell so gravely ill that he entertained slight hopes of recovery, and he frequently used to utter during his illness this verse of tragedy: 'Such things accursed war brings in its train.'"

[3] Literally, "about 38 stades." The excerptor here evidently follows Dio in reckoning 7½ stades to the mile; but compare the same excerptor in lxxii (lxxiii). 3, where apparently the same distance is called 40 stades (8 stades often being counted to the mile).

ἤμελλον.[1] ὁ γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ ἤθελε μὲν αὐτοὺς
2 καὶ παντάπασιν[2] ἐκκόψαι· ὅτι γὰρ καὶ τότε ἔτι ἔρρωντο καὶ ὅτι μεγάλα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους κακὰ ἔδρασαν, ἐξ ἐκείνου κατεφάνη ὅτι[3] τῶν τε αἰχμαλώτων μυριάδας δέκα ἀπέδοσαν, οὓς μετὰ πολλοὺς μὲν πραθέντας πολλοὺς δὲ τελευτήσαντας πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ φυγόντας εἶχον, καὶ ἱππέας εὐθὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐς συμμαχίαν οἱ παρέσχον, ἀφ' ὧν πεντακισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἐς Βρεττανίαν ἔπεμψεν.—Exc. U^G 61 (p. 410).

17 Ὅτι ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ ἡ Συρία νεοχμώσαντες ἠνάγκασαν καὶ παρὰ γνώμην τὸν Μᾶρκον Ἀντωνῖνον τοῖς Ἰάζυξι συμβῆναι· οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς τὰ ἀγγελθέντα ἐξεπλάγη ὥστε μηδὲ ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὰς αἱρέσεις ἐφ' αἷς αὐτοῖς συνηλλάγη, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐποίει.—Exc. U^G 62 (p. 410).

22,2 Τοῦ δὲ Κασσίου κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν νεωτερίσαντος σφόδρα ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Μᾶρκος τὸν Κόμμοδον τὸν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἐφήβους ἤδη τελεῖν δυνάμενον, μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ δὴ Κάσσιος Σύρος μὲν ἐκ τῆς Κύρου ἦν, ἀνὴρ δὲ ἄριστος ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁποῖον ἄν τις αὐτοκράτορα ἔχειν εὔξαιτο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον Ἡλιοδώρου τινὸς ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἡγεμονίαν ἐξ ἐμπειρίας
3 ῥητορικῆς προχωρήσαντος[4] υἱὸς ἦν. τοῦτο δὲ δὴ δεινῶς ἥμαρτεν ὑπὸ Φαυστίνης ἀπατηθείς· αὕτη γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀρρωστήσαντα (ἦν δὲ τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Ἀντωνίνου θυγάτηρ) προσδοκήσασα ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη τελευτήσειν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ τῆς

[1] ἤμελλον Bs., ἤθελον MSS.
[2] αὐτοὺς καὶ παντάπασιν Bk., καὶ αὐτοὺς παντάπασιν A, καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ παντάπασιν BM.

the Ister as those tribes. Indeed, the emperor had A.D. 175 wished to exterminate them utterly. For that they were still strong at this time and had done the Romans great harm was evident from the fact that they returned a hundred thousand captives that were still in their hands even after the many who had been sold, had died, or had escaped, and that they promptly furnished as their contribution to the alliance eight thousand cavalry, fifty-five hundred of whom he sent to Britain.

The revolt of Cassius and Syria forced Marcus Antoninus to make terms with the Iazyges very much against his will; indeed, he was so alarmed by the news that he did not even communicate to the senate the conditions of the peace made with them, as he was wont to do in other cases.

When Cassius rebelled in Syria, Marcus in great alarm summoned his son Commodus from Rome, as being now entitled to assume the *toga virilis.* Cassius, who was a Syrian from Cyrrhus, had shown himself an excellent man and the sort one would desire to have as emperor, save for the fact that he was the son of one Heliodorus,[1] who had been content to secure the governorship of Egypt as the reward of his oratorical ability. But Cassius in rebelling made a terrible mistake, due to his having been deceived by Faustina. The latter, who was the daughter of Antoninus Pius, seeing that her husband had fallen ill and expecting that he would die at any moment, was afraid that the throne might fall

[1] C. Avidius Heliodorus (cf. lxix. 3).

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[3] ὅτι supplied by Leuncl.
[4] προχωρήσαντος R. Steph., προχωρήσαντι VC.

ἀρχῆς ἐς ἄλλον τινά, ἅτε τοῦ Κομμόδου καὶ νέου καὶ ἁπλουστέρου τοὺς τρόπους ὄντος, περιελθούσης ἰδιωτεύσῃ,[1] καὶ ἔπεισε τὸν Κάσσιον δι' ἀπορρήτων[2] παρασκευάσασθαι ἵν', ἄν τι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος πάθῃ,[3] καὶ αὐτὴν[4] καὶ τὴν αὐταρχίαν

23 λάβῃ. ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτῷ διανοουμένῳ ἀγγελία ἦλθε τὸν Μᾶρκον τεθνηκέναι, οἷά που φιλεῖ τοιαῦτα[5] ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἀεὶ θρυλεῖσθαι· καὶ εὐθύς, οὐκ ἀναμείνας αὐτὴν ἀκριβῶσαι, ἔφεσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐποιήσατο ὡς καὶ πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ τότε ὄντων προκε-

2 χειρισμένος. καὶ ὁ μέν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μὴ ἐς μακρὰν[6] τἀληθὲς ἔμαθεν, ὅμως, ἐπειδήπερ ἅπαξ ὑπεκεκινήκει,[7] οὐ μετεβάλετο,[8] ἀλλὰ τά τε ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου πάντα διὰ βραχέος προσεποιήσατο καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ πολέμῳ

3 τὸ κράτος ἕξων· ὁ δὲ δὴ Μᾶρκος παρὰ τοῦ Οὐήρου τοῦ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρχοντος τὴν ἐπανάστασιν αὐτοῦ μαθὼν τέως μὲν συνέκρυπτεν αὐτά, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τῇ τε φήμῃ ἰσχυρῶς ἐταράσσοντο καὶ ἐλογοποίουν πολλά, συνεκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνέγνω τοιάδε·

[1] Cf. Joann. Antioch.: *ὅτι Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγούμενος, ἀνὴρ δεινὸς τὰ πολέμια, πλεῖστά τε καὶ λόγου ἄξια κατὰ τὸν Παρθικὸν πόλεμον ἀποδειξάμενος, ἄλλως δὲ ὢν νεωτεροποιός, καινοτομεῖν ἐπήρθη πρὸς τῆς Φαυστίνης τῆς τοῦ Μάρκου γαμετῆς ἐς τήνδε προαχθεὶς τὴν ἔννοιαν. αὐτὴ γὰρ τὸν Μάρκον ἀρρωστήσαντα τεθνήξεσθαι ἄλλως τε καὶ νοσώδη ὄντα οἰηθεῖσα, κτέ.* Fr. 118 Muell. v. 1–7.

[2] *δι' ἀπορρήτων* VC, *κρύφα πέμψασα τῶν αὐτῇ πιστῶν τινάς* Joann. Ant.

[3] *πάθῃ* Dind., *πάθοι* VC. [4] *αὐτὴν* Leuncl., *αὐτὸν* VC.

[5] *τοιαῦτα* H. Steph., *τοσαῦτα* VC.

[6] *μακρὰν* Bk., *μακρὸν* VC.

[7] *ὑπεκεκινήκει* Bk., *ὑποκεκινήκει* VC.

to some outsider, inasmuch as Commodus was both A.D. 175 too young and also rather simple-minded, and that she might thus find herself reduced to a private station.[1] Therefore she secretly[2] induced Cassius to make his preparations so that, if anything should happen to Antoninus, he might obtain both her and the imperial power. Now while he was considering this project, a message came that Marcus was dead (in such circumstances reports always represent matters as worse than they really are), and immediately, without waiting to confirm the rumour, he laid claim to the throne, on the ground that he had already been elected by the soldiers who were then in Pannonia. And in spite of the fact that he learned the whole truth before long, nevertheless, having once made a beginning, he did not change his course, but speedily won over the whole region south of the Taurus and was making preparations to gain the throne by war. Marcus, on being informed of his uprising by Verus, the governor of Cappadocia, concealed the news for a time; but as the soldiers were becoming greatly disturbed by the reports and were talking a great deal, he called them together and read an address to the following purport:

[1] Cf. Joann. Ant.: "Cassius, the governor of Syria, a skilful general who had performed many notable achievements in the course of the Parthian war, was naturally inclined toward rebellion and was now encouraged to revolt, being led to this thought by Faustina, the wife of Marcus. For when Marcus fell ill, she, believing that he would die, especially as he was always sickly, became afraid," etc.

[2] Joan. Ant. says: "secretly sending some of those who were loyal to her."

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[8] μετεβάλετο Bk., μετεβάλλετο VC.

24 "Οὐκ ἀγανακτήσων, ὦ συστρατιῶται, ἀλλ'[1] ὀδυρούμενος[2] παρελήλυθα. χαλεπαίνειν μὲν γὰρ τί δεῖ πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον, ᾧ πάντα ἔξεστιν; ὀλοφύρεσθαι δὲ ἴσως ἀνάγκη τοὺς ἀδίκως δυστυχοῦντας· ὃ καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν συμβέβηκε. πῶς γὰρ οὐ δεινὸν πολέμοις ἡμᾶς ἐκ πολέμων συμφέρεσθαι; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄτοπον καὶ ἐμφυλίῳ συμ-
2 πλακῆναι; πῶς οὐκ ἀμφότερα καὶ δεινότητι καὶ ἀτοπίᾳ νικᾷ τὸ μηδὲν πιστὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαί τέ με ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλτάτου καὶ ἐς ἀγῶνα ἀκούσιον καθίστασθαι μήτε τι ἠδικηκότα μήτε τι πεπλημμεληκότα; τίς μὲν γὰρ ἀρετὴ ἀσφαλής, τίς δὲ φιλία ἔτι νομισθήσεται ἐμοῦ ταῦτα πεπονθότος; πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀπόλωλε μὲν πίστις, ἀπόλωλε δὲ ἐλπὶς ἀγαθή;
3 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν μόνος ἐγὼ ἐκινδύνευον, παρ' οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐποιησάμην (οὐ γάρ που[3] καὶ ἀθάνατος ἐγεννήθην)· ἐπεὶ δὲ δημοσία τε ἀπόστασις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπανάστασις γέγονε, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος πάντων ὁμοίως ἡμῶν ἅπτεται, ἐβουλόμην, εἰ οἷόν τε ἦν, προσκαλέσασθαι τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ δικαιολογήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν παρ' ὑμῖν ἢ
4 παρὰ τῇ γερουσίᾳ· καὶ ἡδέως ἂν ἀμαχεὶ παρεχώρησα αὐτῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, εἰ τοῦτο τῷ κοινῷ συμφέρειν ἐδεδόχει. ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ γὰρ καὶ πονῶν καὶ κινδυνεύων διατελῶ, τοσοῦτόν τε ἐνταυθοῖ χρόνον ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας πεποίηκα, ἄνθρωπος καὶ γέρων ἤδη καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ οὔτε τροφὴν ἄλυπον οὔθ' ὕπνον ἄφροντιν λαβεῖν δυνάμενος.

[1] ἀλλ' Bk., ἢ VC.
[2] ὀδυρούμενος H. Steph., ὀδυρόμενος VC.

"Fellow-soldiers: I have come before you, not to express indignation, but to bewail my fate. For why become angry at Heaven, which is all-powerful? But it is necessary, perhaps, for those who meet with undeserved misfortune to indulge in lamentations; and that is now my case. Is it not dreadful that we become engaged in war after war? Is it not horrible that we are even involved in civil war? And are not both these evils surpassed in dreadfulness and horror by the discovery that there is no such thing as loyalty among men? For a plot has been formed against me by my dearest friend and I have been forced into a conflict against my will, though I have done nothing wrong or amiss. What virtue, what friendship shall henceforth be deemed secure after this experience of mine? Has not faith, has not confident hope perished? Now if the danger were mine alone, I should have regarded the matter as of no moment (for I presume I was not born to be immortal!), but since there has been a public secession, or rather rebellion, and the war touches us all alike, I could have wished, had it been possible, to invite Cassius here and to argue before you or the senate the matter at issue between us; and I would gladly have yielded the supreme power to him without a struggle, if this had seemed to be for the good of the State. For it is on behalf of the State that I continue to toil and to undergo dangers and that I have spent so much time here outside of Italy, though already an old man and weak, unable to take either food without pain or sleep without anxiety.

A.D. 175

[3] που Bk., πω VC.

25 "'Επεὶ δ' οὐκ ἄν ποτε συγκαθεῖναι[1] ἐς τοῦτο ὁ Κάσσιος ἐθελήσειε (πῶς γὰρ ἂν πιστεύσειέ μοι, ἄπιστος οὕτω περὶ ἐμὲ γεγενημένος;), ὑμᾶς γε, ὦ συστρατιῶται, χρὴ θαρρεῖν. οὐ γάρ που κρείττους Κίλικες καὶ Σύροι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑμῶν οὔτε ἐγένοντό ποτε οὔτε ἔσονται, οὐδ' ἂν μυριάκις πλείους ὑμῶν, ὅσῳ νῦν ἐλάττους 2 εἰσίν, ἀθροισθῶσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ Κάσσιος, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ στρατηγικὸς εἶναι καὶ πολλὰ κατωρθωκέναι δοκεῖ, λόγου τινὸς ἄξιος νῦν ἂν φανείη· οὔτε γὰρ ἀετὸς κολοιῶν ἢ καὶ λέων νεβρῶν ἡγησάμενος ἀξιόμαχος γίγνεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀραβικὸν τόν τε Παρθικὸν ἐκεῖνον πόλεμον οὐ Κάσσιος ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς κατειργάσασθε. 3 ἄλλως τε, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Πάρθους πραχθέντων εὐδόκιμός ἐστιν, ἔχετε καὶ ὑμεῖς Οὐῆρον, ὃς οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνίκησε πλεῖστα[2] καὶ κατεκτήσατο. ἀλλὰ τάχα μὲν καὶ ἤδη μετανενόηκε, ζῶντά με μεμαθηκώς· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἄλλως ἢ ὡς τετελευτηκότος μου τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν. ἂν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀντίσχῃ, ἀλλ' ὅταν γε καὶ προσιόντας ἡμᾶς πύθηται, πάντως γνωσιμαχήσει, καὶ ὑμᾶς φοβηθεὶς καὶ ἐμὲ αἰδεσθείς.

26 "'Εγὼ γοῦν[3] ἓν μόνον, ὦ συστρατιῶται, δέδοικα (εἰρήσεται γὰρ πᾶσα πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀλήθεια), μὴ ἤτοι αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀποκτείνῃ, αἰσχυνθεὶς ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, ἢ ἕτερός τις μαθὼν ὅτι τε ἥξω καὶ ὅτι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁρμῶμαι

[1] συγκαθεῖναι R. Steph., συγκαταθεῖναι VC.
[2] πλεῖστα Bk., πλείω VC.
[3] ἐγὼ γοῦν R. Steph., ἔγω γ' οὖν VC.

"But since Cassius would never consent to adopt A.D. 175 this course,—for how could he trust me after having shown himself so untrustworthy toward me?—you, at least, fellow-soldiers, ought to be of good cheer. For surely Cilicians, Syrians, Jews, and Egyptians have never proved superior to you and never will, even if they should muster as many tens of thousands more than you as they now muster fewer. Nor would even Cassius himself appear to deserve any consideration now, however much he may seem to possess high qualities of generalship or however many successes he may seem to have gained. For an eagle is not formidable when in command of an army of daws nor a lion when in command of fawns; and as for those Arabian and Parthian wars, it was not Cassius, but you, that brought them to an end. Again, even though he is renowned because of his achievements against the Parthians, yet you have Verus, who has been no less successful than he, but, on the contrary, more successful, in winning many victories and in acquiring much territory. But Cassius has perhaps already changed his mind on hearing that I am alive; for surely he has done this thing on no other assumption than that I was dead. But even if he persists in his course, yet when he learns that we are approaching, he will surely think better of it, both out of fear of you and out of respect for me.

"There is only one thing I fear, fellow-soldiers,—for you shall be told the whole truth,—and that is, that either he will kill himself because ashamed to come into our presence or that someone else will do so upon learning that I am to come and am

2 τοῦτο ποιήσῃ.[1] μέγα[2] γάρ μου ἆθλον καὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς νίκης, καὶ ἡλίκον οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἀνθρώπων ἔλαβεν, ἀφαιρήσεται. τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν; ἀδικήσαντα ἄνθρωπον ἀφεῖναι, πρὸς φιλίαν ὑπερβάντα φίλον μεῖναι, πίστιν καταλύ-
3 σαντι[3] πιστὸν διαγενέσθαι. παράδοξα μὲν ἴσως ταῦθ' ὑμῖν φαίνεται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς δεῖ· οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἁπλῶς πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλωλεν, ἀλλ' ἔστι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἔτι τῆς ἀρχαίας ἀρετῆς λείψανον. ἂν δέ που ἀπιστῇ τις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μεῖζόν ἐστί μοι τὸ ἐπιθύμημα, ἵνα ὃ μηδεὶς ἂν πιστεύσειε
4 γενέσθαι δύνασθαι, τοῦτο ἴδῃ γενόμενον. ὡς ἔγωγε τοῦτ' ἂν μόνον ἐκ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν κερδάναιμι, εἰ δυνηθείην καλῶς θέσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι καὶ ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις ἔστιν ὀρθῶς χρήσασθαι."

27 Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Μᾶρκος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶπε καὶ πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν ἔγραψεν, οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ τὸν Κάσσιον κακηγορήσας, πλὴν ὅτι ἀχάριστον αὐτὸν συνεχῶς ἀπεκάλει.[4] οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ὑβριστικόν τι οὔτε εἶπέ ποτε ἐς τὸν Μᾶρκον οὔτ' ἔγραψε.—Xiph. 262, 9–264, 25 R. St.

1[a] Ὅτι παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ Μάρκου εἰς τὸν κατὰ Κασσίου πόλεμον, οὐδεμίαν βαρβαρικὴν συμμαχίαν ἐδέξατο, καίτοι πολλῶν συνδραμόντων αὐτῷ, λέγων μὴ χρῆναι τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰδέναι τὰ μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων κινούμενα κακά.—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 119 (p. 224 Mai. = p. 206, 24–28 Dind.).

2 Παρασκευαζομένῳ δὲ Μάρκῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐμ-

already setting out against him. For then I should be deprived of a great prize both of war and of victory, a prize such as no human being has ever yet obtained. And what is this prize? To forgive a man who has wronged one, to remain a friend to one who has transgressed friendship, to continue faithful to one who has broken faith. Perhaps all this seems incredible to you, but you ought not to disbelieve it; for surely all goodness has not yet entirely perished from among men, but there is still in us a remnant of the ancient virtue. And if anyone should disbelieve it, that but renders the more ardent my desire, in order that men may see accomplished what no one would believe could come to pass. For that would be the one profit I could derive from our present ills, if I could settle this affair well and show to all mankind that there is a right way to deal even with civil wars." A.D. 175

This is what Marcus both said to the soldiers and wrote to the senate, never abusing Cassius in any way save that he constantly termed him ungrateful. Nor, indeed, did Cassius ever utter or write anything insulting to Marcus.

Marcus, when he was making preparations for the war against Cassius, would accept no barbarian assistance, although many nations rushed to offer their services; for he declared that the barbarians ought not to know of the troubles arising between Romans.

While Marcus was making preparations for the

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[1] ποιήσῃ H. Steph., ποιήσει VC.
[2] μέγα Xyl., μέγαν VC.
[3] καταλύσαντι Rk., καταλύσαντα VC.
[4] ἀπεκάλει Dind., ἀνεκάλει VC.

φύλιον πόλεμον ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ νῖκαι κατὰ διαφόρων βαρβάρων ἐν ταὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Κασσίου θάνατος ἀπηγγέλθη.[1] προσπεσὼν γὰρ βαδίζοντι τῷ Κασσίῳ Ἀντώνιος ἑκατόνταρχος ἐξαίφνης ἔτρωσε κατὰ τοῦ αὐχένος οὐ πάνυ πληγῇ

3[1] καιρίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῇ ῥύμῃ τοῦ ἵππου ἐξαχθεὶς ἀτελὲς τὸ τόλμημα κατέλιπεν, ὥστ' ὀλίγου διαφυγεῖν αὐτόν,[2] ὁ δὲ δέκαρχος ἐν τούτῳ τὸ λοιπὸν προσκατειργάσατο· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμόντες πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ὥρμησαν.—Xiph. 264, 25–32 R. St.

28, 1 Ὅτι ὁ Μᾶρκος Ἀντωνῖνος τοσοῦτον ἤχθετο τῷ τοῦ Κασσίου ὀλέθρῳ ὥστε ἀποκεφαλισθέντος οὐδὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖν ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν πλησιάσαι τοὺς αὐτόχειρας ταφῆναί που ἐκέλευσεν.—Exc. Val. 305 (p. 717).

27, 3[2] Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω μῆνάς τε τρεῖς καὶ ἡμέρας ἓξ τὴν ἀρχὴν[3] ὀνειρώξας ἐσφάγη, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἑτέρωθι ὢν ἐφονεύθη· καὶ ὁ Μᾶρκος, ἐπιὼν τὰ ἔθνη τὰ τῷ Κασσίῳ συνεξαναστάντα, πάνυ φιλανθρώπως πᾶσιν ἐχρήσατο, καὶ οὐδένα οὔτε τῶν ἐλαττόνων οὔτε τῶν ἐπιφανεστέρων διεχρήσατο.[4]—Xiph. 264, 32–265, 5 R. St.

[1] Cf. Joann. Ant.: καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐκ τῆς Παιονίας ἐστάλη· οὐ μὴν ὅπλων αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν ἐπαναστάντων ἐδέησεν· ὁ γάρ τοι Κάσσιος ἀναιρεθεὶς πρός τινος τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔφθασεν.—Fr. 118 Muell. v. 17–20.

[2] αὐτόν R. Steph., αὐτό VC.

[3] τὴν ἀρχὴν Zon., om. VC.

[4] Cf. Joann. Ant.: καθ' ἡσυχίαν δ' οὖν τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπελθών, οὔτε δῆμον οὔτε πόλιν οὔτε ἰδιώτην οὔτε ἄρχοντα ἐσπουδακέναι τὰ τοῦ Κασσίου δόξαντα ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν ἢ ἐκόλασεν.—Fr. 118 Muell. v. 20–23.

civil war, the death of Cassius was reported to him A.D. 175 at the same time with the news of many victories over various barbarians.[1] Cassius, it appears, while proceeding on foot, had encountered Antonius, a centurion, who suddenly wounded him in the neck, though the blow was not exactly a mortal one. Antonius, now, was carried on by the momentum of his horse and left the deed incomplete, so that his victim nearly escaped; but in the meantime the decurion finished what remained to be done. They cut off Cassius' head and set out to meet the emperor.

Marcus Antoninus was so greatly grieved at the death of Cassius that he could not bring himself even to look at the severed head of his enemy, but before the murderers drew near gave orders that it should be buried.

Thus was this pretender slain after a dream of empire lasting three months and six days; and his son, who was somewhere else, was also murdered. Marcus, upon reaching the provinces that had joined in Cassius' uprising, treated them all very leniently and did not put anyone to death, whether obscure or prominent.[2]

[1] Cf. Joan. Antioch.: "And he set out for Syria from Paeonia [Pannonia?], but he had no need of arms against the rebels, for Cassius had already perished at the hands of one of his followers."

[2] Cf. Joan. Antioch.: "And coming peacefully to Syria and Egypt, he neither investigated nor punished any who appeared to have favoured Cassius, whether nation or city, private citizen or official."

28, 2 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τῶν βουλευτῶν τινὰ τῶν σὺν τῷ Κασσίῳ οὔτ' ἀπέσφαξεν οὔτε ἔδησεν οὔτε ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ φρουρᾷ οὐδένα ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον αὐτοῦ ἐσήγαγεν, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς ὡς καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐγκαλουμένους πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν ἔπεμψεν, ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς ῥητὴν δίκης 3 προθείς. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὀλίγους πάνυ, ὅσοι καὶ ἔργῳ τι οὐ μόνον τῷ Κασσίῳ συνεπεπράχεσαν ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκεκακουργήκεσαν,[1] ἐδικαίωσεν. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι Φλάουιον Καλουίσιον τὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντα οὔτε ἐφόνευσεν οὔτε τὴν οὐσίαν ἀφείλετο, ἀλλ' ἐς νῆσον ἁπλῶς 4 ἐνέβαλεν. τὰ δὲ ὑπομνήματα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γενόμενα κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μηδ' ὀνείδισμά τι ἐξ αὐτῶν σχῇ, καὶ πάντας τοὺς συγγενομένους αὐτῷ ἀφῆκεν.—Exc. Val. 306 (p. 717).

29 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον μετήλλαξε καὶ ἡ Φαυστῖνα, εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς ποδάγρας ἣν εἶχεν, εἴτε ἄλλως, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχθῇ[2] ἐφ' οἷς πρὸς τὸν Κάσσιον συνετέθειτο. καίτοι ὁ Μᾶρκος πάντα τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς κιβωτίοις εὑρεθέντα τοῦ Πούδεντος διέφθειρε μηδὲν ἀναγνούς, ἵνα μηδ' ὄνομά τινων τῶν ἐπιβούλων μάθῃ τῶν τι κατ' αὐτοῦ γεγραφότων, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἄκων 2 αὐτοὺς ἀναγκασθῇ μισῆσαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι[3] Οὐῆρος ἐς τὴν Συρίαν, ἧς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, προπεμφθείς, καὶ εὑρὼν αὐτὰ ἐν τοῖς σκεύεσι τοῦ Κασσίου ἠφάνισεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι μάλιστα μὲν

[1] ἐκεκακουργήκεσαν Bk., ἐκακουργήκεσαν cod. Peir.
[2] ἐλεγχθῇ R. Steph., ἐλεχθῇ VC.
[3] λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι Bk., λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ VC, οἱ δέ φασιν ὅτι cod. Peir.

This same emperor neither slew nor imprisoned nor put under guard at all any of the senators who had been associated with Cassius. Indeed, he did not so much as bring them before his own court, but merely sent them before the senate, as though charged with some other offence, and set a definite day for their trial. Of the others, he executed a very few, who had been guilty of some overt crime not only in co-operation with Cassius but also on their own account. A proof of this is that he did not slay or deprive of his property Flavius Calvisius,[1] the governor of Egypt, but merely confined him on an island. He also caused the records made in this man's case to be burned, in order that no reproach should attach to him from this source; and he released all who had been associated with him. A.D. 175

About this same time Faustina also died, either of the gout, from which she suffered, or in some other manner, in order to avoid being convicted of her compact with Cassius. And yet Marcus destroyed all the papers that were found in the chests of Pudens[2] without reading any of them, in order that he might not learn even the name of any of the conspirators who had written anything against him and so be reluctantly forced to hate them. Another story is to the effect that Verus, who had been sent ahead into Syria, of which he had secured the governorship, found these papers among the effects of Cassius and destroyed them, remarking that this course would probably be most A.D. 176

[1] Identified by Klebs with C. Calvisius Statianus.

[2] Reimar suggested that perhaps Pudens was secretary of the Greek correspondence of Cassius, as Manilius (cf. lxxii [lxxiii]. 7, 4) was of his Latin correspondence.

ἐκείνῳ τοῦτ' ἔσται κεχαρισμένον, ἂν δὲ καὶ χαλεπήνῃ τι, ἄμεινόν γε ἔσται ἕνα ἑαυτὸν ἀντὶ 3 πολλῶν ἀπολέσθαι. Μᾶρκός γε μὴν οὕτω τι φόνοις οὐκ ἔχαιρεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς μονομάχους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὥσπερ ἀθλητὰς ἀκινδύνως ἑώρα μαχομένους· σιδήριον γὰρ οὐδέποτε οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ὀξὺ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμβλέσιν ὥσπερ ἐσφαι- 4 ρωμένοις πάντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ οὕτω γε πόρρω παντὸς φόνου καθειστήκει ὥστε καὶ λέοντά τινα δεδιδαγμένον ἀνθρώπους ἐσθίειν ἐκέλευσε μὲν ἐσαχθῆναι αἰτησαμένου τοῦ δήμου, οὔτε δὲ ἐκεῖνον εἶδεν οὔτε τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ ἠλευθέρωσε, καίπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγκειμένων οἱ, ἀλλὰ καὶ κηρυχθῆναι προσέταξεν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐλευθερίας πεποίηκεν.—Xiph. 265, 5–16 R. St., Exc. Val. 307, 308 (p. 718).

30 Τὴν δὲ Φαυστῖναν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἰσχυρῶς πενθήσας ἔγραψε τῇ βουλῇ μηδένα τῶν Κασσίῳ συναραμένων τεθνάναι, ὡς καὶ ἐκ μόνου τούτου παραμυθίου τινὸς ἐπὶ τῇ Φαυστίνῃ τυχεῖν 2 δυνησόμενος.[1] "μὴ γὰρ γένοιτο" ἔφη "μηδένα

[1] Cf. Joann. Ant.: (ἢ ἐκόλασεν c. 27, 4), ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνειλημμένων (ἐξεληλεγμένοι γὰρ ἦσαν κἀνταῦθα τῶν βουλευτῶν συχνοὶ τὰ τοῦ Κασσίου περιφανῶς ἐσπουδακότες) ἐπέστειλε τῇ βουλῇ, μηδὲν χαλεπὸν γνῶναι, τούτοις ἄντικρυς τοῖς ῥήμασι χρησάμενος· αὐτὰ γὰρ εἰρήσεται, τὴν χρηστότητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σαφῶς ἐνδεικνύμενα. ἦν δ' οὖν τοιαῦτα· "ἱκετεύω ὑμᾶς, ὦ βουλή, καθαράν μου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς αἵματος βουλευτικοῦ φυλάξασθαι. μὴ γένοιτο κτἑ.—Fr. 118 Muell. v. 23–34.

Cf. Petr. Patr.: ὅτι ἐγκειμένης τῆς βουλῆς θανατωθῆναι τοὺς συμπράξαντας Κασσίῳ καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς, ἀντέγραψεν ἄλλα τέ τινα καὶ ταῦτα· "δέομαι καὶ ἱκετεύω, καθαράν μου τὴν ἀρχὴν" κτἑ.—*Exc. Vat.* 120 (p. 224 Mai. = p. 206, 29–207, 2 Dind.).

agreeable to the emperor, but that, even if he should be angry, it would be better that he himself alone should perish rather than many others. Marcus, indeed, was so averse to bloodshed that he even used to watch the gladiators in Rome contend, like athletes, without risking their lives; for he never gave any of them a sharp weapon, but they all fought with blunted weapons like foils furnished with buttons. And so far was he from countenancing any bloodshed that although he did, at the request of the populace, order a certain lion to be brought in that had been trained to eat men, yet he would not look at the beast nor emancipate his trainer, in spite of the persistent demands of the spectators; instead, he commanded proclamation to be made that the man had done nothing to deserve his freedom. A.D. 176

In his great grief over the death of Faustina he wrote to the senate asking that no one of those who had co-operated with Cassius should be put to death, as if in this fact alone he could find some consolation for her loss.[1] "May it never happen," he

[1] Cf. Joan. Antioch.: "But also on behalf of those arrested in Rome (for even there many of the senators had been convicted of openly favouring the cause of Cassius) he sent a message to the senate asking them not to pass any harsh decree, his exact words being as follows (for I shall give his very words, which clearly show the excellence of the man): "I implore you, the senate, to keep my reign unstained by the blood of any senator. May it never happen," etc.

Petr. Patric.: "When the senate was insisting on the death of those who had co-operated with Cassius, together with their relatives, he wrote back to them among other things: 'I beseech and implore you to keep my reign unstained,'" etc.

ὑμῶν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ μήτε τῇ ἐμῇ μήτε τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ σφαγῆναι." καὶ τέλος ἔφη ὅτι "ἂν μὴ τούτου τύχω, σπεύσω πρὸς τὸν θάνατον." οὕτω τι καθαρὸς διὰ πάντων καὶ χρηστὸς καὶ εὐσεβὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ἐξεβιάσατο ἔξω τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἠθῶν πρᾶξαι, οὐχ ἡ ἀνοσιουργία τῶν τετολμημένων οὐχ ἡ προσδοκία τῶν ὁμοίων ἐκ 3 τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους συγγνώμης.[1] τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέσχε συμπλάσαι τινὰ ἐπιβουλὴν ἐψευσμένην καὶ σκευωρήσασθαί τινα τραγῳδίαν μὴ γεγενημένην, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς φανερώτατα ἐπαναστάντας αὐτῷ καὶ ὅπλα κατά τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ λαβόντας, καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ δημάρχους καὶ βασιλέας, ἀφεῖναι, καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν μήτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ μήτε διὰ τῆς γερουσίας μήτε δι' ἄλλης προφάσεως μηδεμιᾶς ἀποκτεῖναι. 4 ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ πάνυ τι πιστεύω ὅτι καὶ τὸν Κάσσιον αὐτόν, εἴπερ ἐζωγρήκει, πάντως ἂν ἐσεσώκει. καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς καὶ εὐηργέτησε τῶν σφαγέων, ὅσον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ.—Xiph. 265, 16–24 R. St., Exc. Val. 309 (p. 718).

31 Ἐνομοθετήθη δὲ τότε μηδένα ἐν τῷ ἔθνει ὅθεν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔστιν ἄρχειν, ὅτι ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ ἐχούσῃ ἡγεμονεύων ἐνεόχμωσε. τῷ δὲ Μάρκῳ καὶ τῇ Φαυστίνῃ ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ ἔν τε τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ τῷ

[1] Cf. Joann. Ant.: καὶ οὐκ ἐπῆρε τὸν Μάρκον οὐδὲ προσηγάγετο ἐκβῆναι τῶν συνήθων λογισμῶν οὐ τὸ ἄδικον καὶ ἀνόσιον τῶν τετολμημένων, οὐχ ἡ ἀπιστία τῶν τολμησάντων, οὐ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐς αὖθις δέος.—Fr. 118 Muell. v. 34–38.

continued, "that any one of you should be slain during my reign either by my vote or by yours." And in concluding he said, "If I do not obtain this request, I shall hasten to my death." So pure and excellent and god-fearing did he show himself from first to last; and nothing could force him to do anything inconsistent with his character, neither the wickedness of their rash course nor the expectation of similar uprisings as the result of his pardoning these rebels.[1] So far, indeed, was he from inventing any imaginary conspiracy or concocting any tragedy that had not really occurred, that he actually released those who had in the most open manner risen against him and taken up arms both against him and against his son, whether they were generals or heads of states or kings; and he put none of them to death either by his own action or by that of the senate or on any other pretext whatever. Hence I verily believe that if he had captured Cassius himself alive, he would certainly have spared his life. For he actually conferred benefits upon many who had been the murderers, so far as lay in their power, of both himself and his son.

A.D. 176

A law was passed at this time that no one should serve as governor in the province from which he had originally come, inasmuch as the revolt of Cassius had occurred during his administration of Syria, which included his native district. And it was decreed by the senate that silver images of Marcus and Faustina should be set up in the temple of

[1] Cf. Joann. Antioch.: "And nothing roused Marcus or induced him to depart from his customary principles of action—neither the injustice and wickedness of their rash course nor the faithlessness of those who had ventured upon it nor yet the fear of similar uprisings in the future."

τε[1] Ῥωμαίῳ εἰκόνας ἀργυρᾶς ἀνατεθῆναι καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρυθῆναι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς κόρας τὰς ἐν τῷ ἄστει γαμουμένας μετὰ τῶν νυμφίων
2 θύειν, καὶ ἐς τὸ θέατρον χρυσῆν εἰκόνα τῆς Φαυστίνης ἐπὶ δίφρου ἀεί, ὁσάκις γ'[2] ἂν ἐκεῖνος θεωρῇ, ἐσφέρεσθαί τε καὶ ἐν τῇ προεδρίᾳ ἐξ ἧς ζῶσα ἐθεᾶτο τίθεσθαι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς δυνάμει προεχούσας συγκαθίζεσθαι.
3 Ὁ δε Μᾶρκος ἐλθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ μυηθεὶς ἔδωκε μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τιμάς, ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διδασκάλους ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐπὶ πάσης λόγων παιδείας μισθὸν
32 ἐτήσιον φέροντας. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον διαλεγόμενος, ἐπειδὴ μεταξὺ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅτι πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀποδεδημηκὼς ἦν, ἀνεβόησαν "ὀκτώ" καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ταῖς χερσίν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ χρυσοῦς τοσούτους ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον λάβωσι, προσενεδείξαντο, διεμειδίασε καὶ ἔφη καὶ αὐτὸς "ὀκτώ," καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνὰ διακοσίας δραχμὰς αὐτοῖς
2 κατένειμεν, ὅσον οὔπω πρότερον εἰλήφεσαν. ταῦτά τε ἔπραξε, καὶ τοῖς ὀφείλουσί τι τῷ βασιλικῷ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ πᾶσι πάντα τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἀφῆκεν ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἓξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, χωρὶς τῶν ἑκκαίδεκα τοῦ Ἁδριανοῦ· καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν γράμματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καυθῆναι

[1] τε supplied by Reim.
[2] γ' Sylb., γὰρ C, om. V.

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[1] The gold piece (*aureus*) was worth 100 sesterces.

Venus and Roma, and that an altar should be erected whereon all the maidens married in the city and their bridegrooms should offer sacrifice; also that a golden statue of Faustina should be carried in a chair into the theatre, on every occasion when the emperor was to be a spectator, and placed in the special section from which she herself had been wont, when alive, to view the games, and that the most influential women should sit round about it. A.D. 176

When Marcus had come to Athens and had been initiated into the Mysteries, he not only bestowed honours upon the Athenians, but also, for the benefit of the whole world, he established teachers at Athens in every branch of knowledge, granting these teachers an annual salary. Then upon his return to Rome he made an address to the people; and while he was saying, among other things, that he had been absent many years, they cried out, "eight," and indicated this also with their hands, in order that they might receive that number of gold pieces[1] for a banquet. He smiled and also said "eight"; and later he distributed to them eight hundred sesterces apiece, a larger amount than they had ever received before. Not only did he do this, but he remitted all debts owed by anyone to the emperor's private treasury or to the public treasury for a period of forty-five years, not including the fifteen years of Hadrian;[2] and he ordered all the documents relating to these debts A.D. 178

[2] Literally, forty-six and sixteen years, reckoning inclusively; cf. lxix. 8, 1[2]. There was an interval of sixty years (4 × 15) between Hadrian's order (A.D. 118) and that of Marcus (A.D. 178). See Mommsen *Röm. Staatsrecht* II[3]. 1015, n. 4.

3 ἐκέλευσε. χρήματά τε πολλαῖς πόλεσιν ἔδωκεν, ἐν αἷς καὶ τῇ Σμύρνῃ δεινῶς ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ φθαρείσῃ· καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ βουλευτῇ ἐστρατηγηκότι ἀνοικοδομῆσαι προσέταξεν. ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ νῦν θαυμάζω τῶν αἰτιωμένων αὐτὸν ὡς οὐ μεγαλόφρονα γενόμενον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα οἰκονομικώτατος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἦν, τῶν δ' ἀναγκαίων ἀναλωμάτων οὐδὲ ἓν ἐξίστατο, καίπερ μήτε τινὰ ἐσπράξει χρημάτων, ὥσπερ εἶπον, λυπῶν,[1] καὶ πλεῖστα ὅσα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔξω τῶν ἐγκυκλίων δαπανῶν.

33 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ Σκυθικὰ αὖθις αὐτοῦ ἐδεήθη, γυναῖκα τῷ υἱεῖ θᾶττον δι' αὐτὰ ἢ ἐβούλετο Κρισπῖναν συνῴκισεν· οἱ γὰρ Κυιντίλιοι οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν, καίπερ δύο τε ὄντες καὶ φρόνημα καὶ ἀνδρίαν ἐμπειρίαν τε πολλὴν ἔχοντες, τὸν πόλεμον παῦσαι, καὶ[2] διὰ τοῦτ' ἀναγκαίως 2 αὐτοὶ οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἐξεστράτευσαν. ὁ δὲ Μᾶρκος καὶ χρήματα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ᾔτησε τὴν βουλήν, οὐχ ὅτι μὴ ἔκειντο ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐξουσίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὅτι ὁ Μᾶρκος πάντα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τἆλλα ἔλεγεν εἶναι· "ἡμεῖς γάρ," ἔφη πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν λέγων, "οὕτως οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἔχομεν ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ 3 ὑμετέρᾳ[3] οἰκίᾳ οἰκοῦμεν." ταῦτά τε εἰπών, καὶ τὸ δόρυ τὸ αἱματῶδες παρὰ τῷ Ἐνυείῳ ἐς τὸ

[1] λυπῶν R. Steph., λιπὼν V, λυπὼν corr. to λιπὼν C.
[2] καὶ R. Steph., κἂν VC.
[3] ὑμετέρᾳ R. Steph., ἡμετέρα VC.

to be burned in the Forum. He also gave gifts of money to many cities, including Smyrna, which had suffered terrible destruction by an earthquake; and he assigned the task of rebuilding that city to a senator of praetorian rank. Therefore I am surprised to hear people even to-day censuring him on the ground that he was not an open-handed prince. For, although in general he was most economical in very truth, yet he never avoided a single necessary expenditure, even though, as I have stated,[1] he burdened no one by levies of money and though he found himself forced to lay out very large sums beyond the ordinary requirements. A.D. 178

When the Scythian situation once more demanded his attention, it caused him to give his son a wife, Crispina, sooner than he wished. For the Quintilii had been unable to end the war, although there were two of them and they possessed great shrewdness, courage and experience; and consequently the rulers themselves were forced to take the field. Marcus also asked the senate for money from the public treasury, not because such funds were not already at the emperor's disposal, but because he was wont to declare that all the funds, both these and others, belonged to the senate and to the people. "As for us," he said, in addressing the senate, "we are so far from possessing anything of our own that even the house in which we live is yours." Then, after making this speech and after hurling the bloody spear, that was kept in the temple of

[1] The reference may possibly be to a passage preserved by Zonaras (12, 1), and printed as a fragment at the end of this book (pp. 70–71).

πολέμιον δὴ χωρίον, ὥς γε καὶ τῶν συγγενομένων αὐτῷ ἤκουσα, ἀκοντίσας ἐξωρμήθη, καὶ τῷ Πατέρνῳ δοὺς χεῖρα μεγάλην ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν τῆς μάχης ἀγῶνα. καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀντέτειναν μὲν διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας ἁπάσης, κατε-4[1]κόπησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντες, καὶ ὁ Μᾶρκος τὸ δέκατον αὐτοκράτωρ προσηγορεύθη.—Xiph. 265, 24–267, 4 R. St.

18 Ὅτι οἱ Ἰάζυγες ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, καὶ ᾔτησάν τινα ἀφεθῆναί σφισιν ἐκ τῶν ὡμολογημένων· καὶ συνεχωρήθη[1] τινὰ αὐτοῖς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ παντελῶς ἀλλοτριωθῶσιν. οὐ μέντοι πρότερον οὔτε οὗτοι οὔτε οἱ Βοῦροι συμμαχῆσαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἠθέλησαν, πρὶν πίστεις παρὰ Μάρκου λαβεῖν ἦ μὴν μέχρι παντὸς τῷ πολέμῳ χρήσεσθαι· ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ μὴ καταλλαγεὶς τοῖς Κουάδοις, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, προσοίκους σφίσι πολεμίους ὑπολείπηται.—Exc. U^G 63 (p. 410).

19 Ὅτι ὁ Μᾶρκος τοὺς πρεσβευομένους τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐδέχετο οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πάντας, ἀλλ' ὥς που ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἢ πολιτείαν ἢ ἀτέλειαν ἢ ἀΐδιον ἢ καὶ πρὸς χρόνον τινὰ ἄνεσιν τοῦ φόρου λαβεῖν ἢ καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀθάνατον ἔχειν ἄξιοι ἦσαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἰάζυγες χρησιμώτατοι αὐτῷ[2] 2 ἐγίγνοντο, πολλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσιν ἀφῆκε, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντα πλὴν τῶν κατά τε τὰς συνόδους αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιμιξίας συγκειμένων, τοῦ τε μὴ ἰδίοις πλοίοις σφᾶς χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῦ[3] τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἴστρῳ ἀπέχεσθαι. καὶ ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Ῥοξο-

[1] συνεχωρήθη Bk., συνεχωρήθησαν MSS.
[2] αὐτῷ Urs., αὐτοῖς MSS.

Bellona, into what was supposed to be the enemy's territory (as I have heard men who were present relate), he set out; and he gave a large force to Paternus and sent him to the scene of the fighting. The barbarians held out for the entire day, but were all cut down by the Romans; and Marcus was saluted *imperator* for the tenth time. A.D. 178 A.D. 179

The Iazyges sent an embassy and asked to be released from certain of the agreements they had made; and some concessions were granted them, to prevent their becoming entirely alienated. Yet neither they nor the Buri were willing to join the Romans as allies until they had received pledges from Marcus that he would without fail prosecute the war to the uttermost; for they were afraid he might make a treaty with the Quadi, as before, and leave enemies dwelling at their doors. A.D. 179–80

Marcus gave audience to those who came as envoys from outside nations, but did not receive them all on the same footing; for this varied according as the several states were worthy to receive citizenship, or freedom from taxes, or perpetual or temporary exemption from the tribute, or even to enjoy permanent support. And when the Iazyges proved most useful to him, he released them from many of the restrictions that had been imposed upon them,—in fact, from all save those affecting their assembling and trading together and the requirements that they should not use boats of their own and should keep away from the islands in the Ister. And he permitted them to pass through Dacia

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[8] τοῦ τε — καὶ τοῦ Rk., τότε — καὶ τὸ MSS.

λάνους διὰ τῆς Δακίας ἐπιμίγνυσθαι, ὁσάκις ἂν ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῆς ἐπιτρέψῃ σφίσιν.—Exc. U[G] 64 (p. 411).

20 †"Οτι τοῖς Κουάδοις καὶ τοῖς Μαρκομάνοις πρεσβευσαμένοις † δύο μυριάδες ἑκατέροις[1] στρατιωτῶν ἐν τείχεσιν ὄντες οὔτε νέμειν οὔτε γεωργεῖν οὔτ' ἄλλο τι μετὰ ἀδείας ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπον,[2] ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτομόλους παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ αἰχμαλώτους τῶν σφετέρων πολλοὺς ὑπεδέχοντο, μὴ πάνυ τι αὐτοὶ ταλαιπωρούμενοι διὰ τὸ καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ πάντα ἀφθόνως ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, 2 ὥστε τοὺς Κουάδους μὴ φέροντας τὸν ἐπιτειχισμὸν μεταναστῆναι πανδημεὶ πρὸς Σεμνόνας ἐπιχειρῆσαι. ὁ δὲ 'Αντωνῖνος προμαθὼν τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, τὰς διόδους ἀποφράξας ἐκώλυσεν. οὕτως οὐ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν προσκτήσασθαι ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπεθύμει.—Exc. U[G] 65 (p. 411).

21 "Οτι καὶ Ναρισταὶ ταλαιπωρήσαντες τρισχίλιοι ἅμα ηὐτομόλησαν καὶ γῆν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἔλαβον.—Exc. U[G] 66 (p. 412).

33, 4[2] Καὶ εἴγε πλέον ἐβεβιώκει, πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ ἂν ἐκεχείρωτο· νῦν δὲ τῇ ἑπτακαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Μαρτίου μετήλλαξεν, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἣν καὶ τότε ἐνόσησεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ σαφῶς ἤκουσα, 34 τῷ Κομμόδῳ χαριζομένων. μέλλων οὖν ἀποθνήσκειν τοῦτόν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις παρακατέθετο (οὐ γὰρ ἤθελε δοκεῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θνήσκειν) καὶ τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τὸ σύνθημα αἰτοῦντι ἔφη "ἄπελ-

[1] ἑκατέροις Rk., ἑκάτεροι MSS.
[2] ἐπέτρεπον supplied by Rk.

in order to have dealings with the Rhoxolani, as often as the governor of Dacia should give them permission.

A.D. 179–80

With regard to the Quadi and the Marcomani, who sent envoys:—the twenty thousand soldiers that were stationed in forts among each of these tribes would not allow them to pasture their flocks or till the soil or do anything else in security, but kept receiving many deserters from the enemy's ranks and captives of their own; yet the soldiers themselves were enduring no great hardships, inasmuch as they had baths and all the necessaries of life in abundance. The Quadi, accordingly, being unwilling to endure the forts built to keep watch upon them, attempted to migrate in a body to the land of the Semnones. But Antoninus learned beforehand of their intention and by barring the roads prevented their departure. This showed that he desired, not to acquire their territory, but to punish the men themselves.

And the Naristi, who had suffered hardships, at one and the same time deserted to the number of three thousand and received land in our territory.

A.D. 180

Now if Marcus had lived longer, he would have subdued that entire region; but as it was, he passed away on the seventeenth of March, not as a result of the disease from which he still suffered, but by the act of his physicians, as I have been plainly told, who wished to do Commodus a favour. When now he was at the point of death, he commended his son to the protection of the soldiers (for he did not wish his death to appear to be due to Commodus), and to the military tribune who asked him for the watchword he said: "Go to the

θε πρὸς τὸν ἀνατέλλοντα· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη δύομαι." τελευτήσας δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐς τιμὴν ἔλαβε καὶ χρυσοῦς ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ συνέδριον ἔστη. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μᾶρκος οὕτω μετήλλαξεν.—Xiph. 267, 4—14 R. St.

2 Ὅτι οὕτω θεοσεβὴς ἦν ὁ Μᾶρκος ὥστε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσιν[1] οἴκοι θύειν.—Exc. Val. 310 (p. 721).

Ὅτι εἶχε μὲν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἁπάσας, καὶ ἄριστα διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν κράτει τινὶ γενομένων ἦρξε, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον οὐ πολλὰ τῷ σώματι ἀνδρίζεσθαι ἐδύνατο· καὶ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀσθενεστάτου 3 καρτερικώτατον ἀπέδειξε. πλεῖστον δὲ ἐν εὐεργεσίᾳ διῆγεν· ὅθεν που καὶ νεὼν αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἱδρύσατο, ὀνόματί τινι ἰδιωτάτῳ καὶ μήπω ἀκουσθέντι προσκαλέσας αὐτήν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἁπάντων τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπείχετο, καὶ οὔτε ἑκὼν οὔτ' ἄκων ἐπλημμέλει· τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτήματα, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ τῆς γυναικός, ἔφερε καὶ οὔτε ἐπολυπραγμόνει οὔτε 4 ἐκόλαζεν, ἀλλ' εἰ μέν τις χρηστόν τι ἔπραττεν, ἐπῄνει καὶ ἐχρῆτο ἐς ἐκεῖνο αὐτῷ, τῶν δὲ ἑτέρων οὐ προσεποιεῖτο, λέγων ὅτι ποιῆσαι μέν τινι ἀνθρώπους ὁποίους βούλεται ἔχειν ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ οὖσι προσήκει, ἐς ὅ τι ἄν τις αὐτῶν τῷ κοινῷ χρήσιμος ᾖ, χρῆσθαι. καὶ ὅτι οὐ προσποιητῶς ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρετῆς πάντα ἔπραττε, πρόδηλον· 5 ἔτη γὰρ ὀκτὼ καὶ πεντήκοντα[1] καὶ μῆνας δέκα

[1] ὀκτὼ καὶ πεντήκοντα VC, *N* cod. Peir. Suid.

[1] Days on which no public business could be transacted; some were festal days and some unlucky days.

rising sun; I am already setting." After his death A.D. 180 he received many marks of honour; among other things a gold statue of him was set up in the senate-house itself. This then was the manner of Marcus' death.

Marcus was so godfearing that even on the *dies nefasti*[1] he sacrificed at home.

In addition to possessing all the other virtues, he ruled better than any others who had ever been in any position of power. To be sure, he could not display many feats of physical prowess; yet he had developed his body from a very weak one to one capable of the greatest endurance. Most of his life he devoted to beneficence, and that was the reason, perhaps, for his erecting a temple to Beneficence on the Capitol, though he called her by a most peculiar name, that had never been heard before.[2] He himself, then, refrained from all offences and did nothing amiss whether voluntarily or involuntarily; but the offences of others, particularly those of his wife, he tolerated, and neither inquired into them nor punished them. So long as a person did anything good, he would praise him and use him for the service in which he excelled, but to his other conduct he paid no attention; for he declared that it is impossible for one to create such men as one desires to have, and so it is fitting to employ those who are already in existence for whatever service each of them may be able to render to the State. And that his whole conduct was due to no pretence but to real excellence is clear; for although he lived fifty-eight years, ten months, and

[2] Wissowa identifies this goddess with *Indulgentia.*

ἡμέρας τε εἴκοσι καὶ δύο [1] ζήσας, κἂν τούτοις τῷ τε πρὶν Ἀντωνίνῳ συχνὸν χρόνον ὑπάρξας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐννέα καὶ δέκα ἔτη καὶ ἕνδεκα ἡμέρας αὐταρχήσας, ὅμοιος διὰ πάντων ἐγένετο καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ ἠλλοιώθη. οὕτως ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν προσποιητὸν εἶχε.

35 Πάμπολλα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ παιδείας ὠφελήθη, ἔν τε τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς ἔν τε τοῖς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας [2] λόγοις ἀσκηθείς· τῶν μὲν γὰρ τόν τε Φρόντωνα τὸν Κορνήλιον καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην τὸν Κλαύδιον διδασκάλους εἶχε, τῶν δὲ τόν τε Ῥούστικον τὸν Ἰούνιον καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Νικομηδέα, τοὺς 2 Ζηνωνείους λόγους μελετῶντας, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ παμπληθεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπλάττοντο, ἵν' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλουτίζωνται. πλεῖστον δὲ ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐξήρθη· καὶ γὰρ πρὶν ἐκείνοις [3] ὁμιλῆσαι, ἰσχυρῶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὥρμητο. τοῖς τε γὰρ συγγενέσι πᾶσι, πολλοῖς καὶ δυνατοῖς πλουσίοις τε οὖσιν, 3 οὕτω [4] τι ἔτι παῖς ὢν ἤρεσεν ὥσθ' ὑπὸ πάντων αὐτῶν ἀγαπηθῆναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ὅτι μάλιστα ἐς τὸ γένος ποιηθεὶς οὐχ ὑπερεφρόνησεν, ἀλλὰ καίτοι νέος ὢν καὶ Καῖσαρ τῷ τε [5] Ἀντωνίνῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμμελέστατα ἐδούλευσε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς πρώτους 4 ἀνεπαχθῶς ἐτίμησεν. ἠσπάζετό τε τοὺς ἀξιωτάτους ἐν τῇ Τιβεριανῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐν ᾗ ᾤκει, πρὶν τὸν πατέρα ἰδεῖν, οὐχ ὅπως τὴν στολὴν τὴν καθήκουσαν ἐνδεδυκώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδιωτικῶς ἐσταλμένος,

[1] καὶ δύο om. cod. Peir. Suid.
[2] ῥητορικοῖς—φιλοσοφίας VC, ῥητορικοῖς καὶ φιλοσοφικοῖς cod. Peir., ῥητορικῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας Suid.
[3] ἐκείνοις VC, φιλοσόφους cod. Peir.

twenty-two days, of which time he had spent a considerable part as assistant to the first Antoninus, and had been emperor himself nineteen years and eleven days, yet from first to last he remained the same and did not change in the least. So truly was he a good man and devoid of all pretence. A.D. 180

His education also was of great assistance to him, for he had been trained both in rhetoric and in philosophical disputation. In the former he had Cornelius Fronto and Claudius Herodes for teachers, and, in the latter, Junius Rusticus and Apollonius of Nicomedeia,[1] both of whom professed Zeno's doctrines. As a result, great numbers pretended to pursue philosophy, hoping that they might be enriched by the emperor. Most of all, however, he owed his advancement to his own natural gifts; for even before he associated with those teachers he had a strong impulse toward virtue. Indeed, while still a boy he so pleased all his relatives, who were numerous, influential and wealthy, that he was loved by them all; and when Hadrian, chiefly for this reason, had adopted him, he did not become haughty, but, though young and a Caesar, served Antoninus most loyally throughout all the latter's reign and without giving offence showed honour to the others who were foremost in the State. He used always to salute the most worthy men in the House of Tiberius, where he lived, before visiting his father, not only without putting on the attire befitting his rank, but actually dressed as a private citizen, and receiving them in the very apart-

[1] An error for Chalcedon.

[4] οὕτω τι VC, οὕτως cod. Peir.
[5] τε supplied by Bk.

καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ γε τῷ δωματίῳ ἐν ᾧ ἐκάθευδε. καὶ πολλοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐπεσκέπτετο, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς 5 διδασκάλους οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐκ ἐφοίτα. μανδύας τε φαιάς, ὁσάκις γε καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς προήει, ἐνεδύετο, καὶ τῷ φωτὶ τῷ προηγουμένῳ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐχρήσατο. καὶ πρόκριτος τῆς ἱππάδος ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐσῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ 6 τῶν λοιπῶν, καίπερ Καῖσαρ ὤν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἄλλως τε καλῶς ἐπεφύκει καὶ ἐκ τῆς παιδείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὠφελήθη, Ἑλληνικῶν τε καὶ Λατίνων ῥητορικῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων λόγων, καίπερ ἐς ἄνδρας ἤδη τελῶν καὶ ἐλπίδα αὐταρχήσειν 36 ἔχων, ἀεὶ διεπίμπλατο. καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρ ἀποδειχθῆναι ὄναρ ἔδοξεν ὤμους τε καὶ χεῖρας ἐλεφαντίνους ἔχειν καὶ αὐταῖς πάντα ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις[1] χρῆσθαι.

2 Ἐκ δ' οὖν τῆς πολλῆς ἀσχολίας τε καὶ ἀσκήσεως ἀσθενέστατον τὸ σῶμα ἔσχε, καίτοι τοσαύτῃ εὐεξίᾳ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς χρησάμενος ὥστε καὶ ὁπλομαχεῖν καὶ σῦς ἀγρίους ἐν θήρᾳ καταβάλλειν[2] ἀπὸ ἵππου, τάς τε ἐπιστολὰς τὰς πλείστας οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοχειρίᾳ τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις γράφειν. 3 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαξίως ἑαυτοῦ εὐδαιμόνησεν· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ σῶμα[3] ἔρρωτο, καὶ κακοῖς πλείστοις παρὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν περιέπεσεν. ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων μᾶλλον αὐτὸν τεθαύμακα, ὅτι ἔν τε ἀλλοκότοις καὶ ἐν ἐξαισίοις πράγμασι αὐτός τε διεγένετο καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν 4 διεσώσατο. ἓν δ' οὖν τοῦτο ἐς τὴν οὐκ εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτοῦ συνηνέχθη, ὅτι τὸν υἱὸν καὶ θρέψας

[1] τοῖς ἄλλοις Bk., τοῖς ἀνοις VC.

ment where he slept. He used to visit many who A.D. 180 were sick, and never missed going to his teachers. He would wear a dark cloak whenever he went out unaccompanied by his father, and he never employed a torch-bearer for himself alone. Upon being appointed leader of the knights he entered the Forum with the rest, although he was a Caesar. This shows how excellent was his natural disposition, though it was greatly aided by his education. He was always steeping himself in Greek and Latin rhetorical and philosophical learning, even after he had reached man's estate and had hopes of becoming emperor. Even before he was appointed Caesar he had a dream in which he seemed to have shoulders and arms of ivory, and to use them in all respects like his other members.

As a result of his close application and study he was extremely frail in body, though in the beginning he had been so vigorous that he used to fight in armour, and on the chase would strike down wild boars while on horseback; and not only in his early youth but even later he wrote most of his letters to his intimate friends with his own hand. However, he did not meet with the good fortune that he deserved, for he was not strong in body and was involved in a multitude of troubles throughout practically his entire reign. But for my part, I admire him all the more for this very reason, that amid unusual and extraordinary difficulties he both survived himself and preserved the empire. Just one thing prevented him from being completely happy, namely, that after rearing and educating his

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[2] καταβάλλειν Bk., καταβαλεῖν VC.
[3] τὸ σῶμα om. VC.

καὶ παιδεύσας ὡς οἷόν τε ἦν ἄριστα, πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ ὅσον διήμαρτε. περὶ οὗ ἤδη ῥητέον, ἀπὸ χρυσῆς τε βασιλείας ἐς σιδηρᾶν καὶ κατιωμένην[1] τῶν τε πραγμάτων τοῖς τότε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἡμῖν νῦν καταπεσούσης τῆς ἱστορίας.—Xiph. 267, 14—268, 21 R. St., Exc. Val. 311, 312[a] (p. 721 sq.), Suid. *s.v.* Μάρκος gl. 3.

son in the best possible way he was vastly disappointed in him. This matter must be our next topic; for our history now descends from a kingdom of gold to one of iron and rust, as affairs did for the Romans of that day. A.D. 180

[1] κατιωμένην Rk., καταιτιωμένην VC.

FRAGMENTS

Οὐ[1] μὴν διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐχρηματίζετο, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ποτὲ γεγονὼς ἀργυρίων, πολέμων ἐπικειμένων, οὔτε τέλος καινὸν ἐπενόησεν οὔτ' αἰτῆσαι παρά του ἠνέσχετο χρήματα, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πάντα τὰ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις κειμήλια θέμενος, καὶ εἴ τι πρὸς κόσμον προσῆν τῇ αὐτοῦ γαμετῇ, ὠνεῖσθαι ταῦτα τὸν βουλόμενον προετρέπετο· ὅθεν ἀθροίσας [καὶ add. E] ἀργύρια τοῖς στρατιώταις διέδωκε. καὶ νικήσας τὸν πόλεμον ἐκτήσατο πολυπλάσια, καὶ κήρυγμα ἔθετο τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκ τῶν ὠνησαμένων τὰ κτήματα [BC°, χρήματα AE] τὰ βασιλικὰ ἀναδιδόναι τὸ ὠνηθὲν καὶ λαμβάνειν τὸ τίμημα. καί [ABC°, ὅ E] τινες μὲν τοῦτο ἐποίησαν, οἱ δὲ πλείους ἀνένευσαν· καὶ οὐδένα ἀναδοῦναι τὸ κτηθὲν αὐτῷ ἐβιάσατο.—Zon. 12, 1 (p. 79, 15—29 D).

Μάρκος Ἀντωνῖνος, ἐν πολέμῳ τῶν δημοσίων ἐξηντλημένων ταμείων, πράξασθαι μὲν χρήματα παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, πάντα δὲ τὸν βασιλικὸν κόσμον ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ἀγαγὼν πρὸς χρυσίον ἀπέδοτο. καταστάσης δὲ τῆς βαρβαρικῆς κινήσεως, τοῖς μὲν ἑκουσίαν ποιουμένοις τὴν τῶν βασιλικῶν σκευῶν ἀνάδοσιν, τὸ αὐτὸ μέτρον τῆς τιμῆς ἀπεδίδου, τοὺς δὲ μὴ θέλοντας οὐκ ἠνάγκαζε.—*Exc. Salm.* n. 117 Muell. p. 396, 29—397, 1 Cram.

[1] This passage from Zonaras is thought by Boissevain (*Hermes* xxvi. 1891, p. 445 f.) to be derived primarily from

Yet he did not on this account collect money from the subject nations. On one occasion when, with wars impending, he found himself at a loss for funds, he neither devised any new tax nor brought himself to ask anyone for money, but instead exposed in the Forum all the heirlooms of the palace together with any ornaments that belonged to his wife, and urged any who so desired to buy them. In this way he raised funds which he paid to the soldiers. Then, after winning the war and gaining many times the amount in question, he issued a proclamation to the effect that any one of the purchasers of the imperial property who wished might return the article purchased and receive its value. Some did this, but the majority declined; and he compelled no one to return to him any object that had been thus acquired.

Marcus Antoninus, when the treasuries had become exhausted in the course of the war, could not bring himself to make levies of money contrary to precedent, but took all the imperial ornaments to the Forum and sold them for gold. When the barbarian uprising had been put down, he returned the purchase price to those who voluntarily brought back the imperial possessions, but used no compulsion in the case of those who were unwilling to do so.

Dio; it occurs in the middle of Zonaras' account of Antoninus Pius, but evidently belongs to his successor's reign. Compare the opening words of the parallel passage of the Exc. Salmas.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIII

LXXII 1 Οὗτος πανοῦργος μὲν οὐκ ἔφυ, ἀλλ' εἰ καί τις ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ἄκακος, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τῆς πολλῆς ἁπλότητος καὶ προσέτι καὶ δειλίας ἐδούλευσε τοῖς συνοῦσι, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγνοίᾳ τὸ πρῶτον τοῦ κρείττονος ἁμαρτὼν ἐς ἔθος κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἐς 2 φύσιν ἀσελγῆ καὶ μιαιφόνον προήχθη. καί μοι δοκεῖ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Μᾶρκος σαφῶς προγνῶναι. ἦν δὲ ἐννεακαιδεκαέτης ὅτε μετήλλαξεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, πολλοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπιτρόπους καταλιπών· ὧν ὁ Κόμμοδος ταῖς ὑποθήκαις καὶ συμβουλίαις χαίρειν εἰπών, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις σπεισάμενος, ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείχθη, μισόπονός τε ὢν καὶ τῆς ἀστικῆς ῥᾳστώνης ἐπιθυμῶν.—Xiph. 269, 6—18 R. St., Exc. Val. 312ᵇ (p. 722).

2 Ὅτι οἱ Μαρκομάνοι[1] οὔτε τροφὴν οὔτ' ἄνδρας συχνοὺς ὑπό τε τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀπολλυμένων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀεὶ τῶν χωρίων κακώσεως ἔτι εἶχον· δύο γοῦν μόνους τῶν πρώτων καὶ δύο ἄλλους τῶν καταδεεστέρων πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς 2 εἰρήνης ἔπεμψαν. καὶ ἐξεργάσασθαι αὐτοὺς δυνάμενος ῥᾳδίως, μισόπονος δὲ δὴ ὢν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀστικὰς ῥᾳστώνας ἐπειγόμενος ἐσπείσατο αὐτοῖς ἐπί τε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐφ' οἷς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ συνετέθειτο, καὶ ἵνα τούς τε αὐτομόλους καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οὓς μετὰ ταῦτα ἔλαβον, ἀποδῶσιν

[1] Μαρκομάνοι M, μαρκομάννοι AB.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIII

This man [Commodus] was not naturally wicked, but, on the contrary, as guileless as any man that ever lived. His great simplicity, however, together with his cowardice, made him the slave of his companions, and it was through them that he at first, out of ignorance, missed the better life and then was led on into lustful and cruel habits, which soon became second nature. And this, I think, Marcus clearly perceived beforehand. Commodus was nineteen years old when his father died, leaving him many guardians, among whom were numbered the best men of the senate. But their suggestions and counsels Commodus rejected, and after making a truce with the barbarians he hastened to Rome; for he hated all exertion and craved the comfortable life of the city. A.D. 180

The Marcomani by reason of the multitude of their people that were perishing and the constant ravaging of their lands no longer had an abundance of either food or men. At any rate they sent only two of their chief men and two others of inferior rank as envoys to sue for peace. And, although Commodus might easily have destroyed them, yet he made terms with them; for he hated all exertion and was eager for the comforts of the city. In addition to the conditions that his father had imposed upon them he also demanded that they restore to him the deserters and the captives that they had taken in the meantime, and that they furnish annu-

αὐτῷ, καὶ σῖτόν τινα κατ' ἔτος τακτὸν τελῶσιν,
3 *ὃν ὕστερον αὐτοῖς ἀφῆκεν. ὅπλα τέ τινα παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβε, καὶ στρατιώτας παρὰ μὲν τῶν Κουάδων μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Μαρκομάνων*[1] *ἐλάττους· ἀνθ' ὧν ἀνῆκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ*[2]
4 *κατ' ἔτος διδόναι τινάς. προσεπέταξε*[3] *μέντοι σφίσιν ἵνα μήτε πολλάκις μήτε πολλαχοῦ τῆς χώρας ἀθροίζωνται, ἀλλ' ἅπαξ ἐν ἑκάστῳ μηνὶ καὶ ἐς τόπον ἕνα ἑκατοντάρχου τινὸς Ῥωμαίου παρόντος, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἵνα μήτε τοῖς Ἰάζυξι μήτε τοῖς Βούροις μήτε τοῖς Οὐανδίλοις*[4] *πολεμῶσιν. ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις συνηλλάγη, καὶ τά τε φρούρια πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν μεθορίαν τὴν ἀποτετμημένην ὄντα ἐξέλιπεν . . .*—Exc. U^G 67 (p. 412).

3 *Ὅτι τοῖς Βούροις ὁ Κόμμοδος εἰρήνην ἔδωκε πρεσβεύσασι. πρότερον μὲν γάρ, καίτοι πολλάκις αὐτὴν αἰτηθείς, οὐκ ἐποιήσατο, ὅτι τε ἔρρωντο καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εἰρήνην ἀλλὰ ἀνοχὴν ἐς τὸ*
2 *παρασκευάσασθαι λαβεῖν ἤθελον· τότε δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐξετρυχώθησαν, συνηλλάγη σφίσιν ὁμήρους λαβὼν καὶ αἰχμαλώτους παρά τε τῶν Βούρων πολλοὺς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων*[5] *μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους κομισάμενος, καὶ ἀναγκάσας τοὺς ἄλλους ὀμόσαι ὥστε μήτ'*[6] *ἐνοικήσειν ποτὲ μήτ' ἐννεμεῖν*[7] *τεσσαράκοντα στάδια τῆς χώρας σφῶν*

[1] Μαρκομάνων Bs., μαρκομάννων MSS.
[2] τὸ Reim., τῶν MSS.
[3] προσεπέταξε AB, προσέταξε M.
[4] Οὐανδίλοις Bs., βανδήλοις MSS.; cf. βανδίλους lxxvii. 20. 3 (cod. Peir.).
[5] ἄλλων (and ἄλλους, ἄλλοις below) perhaps corrupt; Bekker proposed Ἀλανῶν (Ἀλανούς, Ἀλανοῖς).

ally a stipulated amount of grain—a demand from A.D. 180 which he subsequently released them. Moreover, he obtained some arms from them and soldiers as well, thirteen thousand from the Quadi and a smaller number from the Marcomani; and in return for these he relieved them of the requirement of an annual levy. However, he further commanded that they should not assemble often nor in many parts of the country, but only once each month and in one place, and in the presence of a Roman centurion; and, furthermore, that they should not make war upon the Iazyges, the Buri, or the Vandili. On these terms, then, he made peace and abandoned all the outposts in their country beyond the strip along the frontier that had been neutralized. . .

Commodus granted peace to the Buri when they sent envoys. Previously he had declined to do so, in spite of their frequent requests, because they were strong, and because it was not peace that they wanted, but the securing of a respite to enable them to make further preparations; but now that they were exhausted he made peace with them, receiving hostages and getting back many captives from the Buri themselves as well as fifteen thousand from the others,[1] and he compelled the others to take an oath that they would never dwell in nor use for pasturage a five-mile[2] strip of their territory next to

[1] "Others" (in this line and at the end of the paragraph) is perhaps corrupt; "Alani" has been suggested in its place.
[2] Literally, 40 stades; see note on lxxi (lxxii). 15.

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[6] μήτ' Bk., μὴ A, καὶ B, και M.
[7] ἐννεμεῖν St., ἐννέμειν MSS.

3 τῆς πρὸς τῇ Δακίᾳ οὔσης. ὁ αὐτὸς Σαβινιανὸς καὶ Δακῶν τῶν προσόρων μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐκπεσόντας καὶ μέλλοντας τοῖς ἄλλοις βοηθήσειν ὑπηγάγετο, γῆν τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Δακίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ δοθήσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος. —Exc. U^G 68 (p. 413).

4 Ὅτι ὁ Κόμμοδος πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἀπρεπῆ ἔπραξε, πλείστους δὲ ἐφόνευσε.—Exc. Val. 313 (p. 722).

Καὶ ἐπεβουλεύθη μὲν πολλάκις ὑπό τινων, πλείστους δὲ ἐφόνευσε καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, τοὺς μὲν φανερῶς τοὺς δὲ λάθρᾳ φαρμάκοις, καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ 2 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἀνθήσαντας, πλὴν τοῦ τε Πομπηιανοῦ καὶ τοῦ Περτίνακος καὶ τοῦ Οὐικτωρίνου· τούτους γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε. λέγω δὲ ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ οὐκ ἐξ ἀλλοτρίας ἔτι παραδόσεως ἀλλ' ἐξ οἰκείας ἤδη τηρήσεως. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν διαλεχθεὶς ἄλλα τέ τινα ἀπελήρησε, καί τι καὶ 3 τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς αὑτοῦ[1] ἐπαίνοις εἶπεν, ὅτι τὸν πατέρα ποτὲ ἐς πηλὸν βαθὺν ἐμπεσόντα ἱππεύων ἐρρύσατο. τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ σεμνολογήματα αὐτοῦ 4 ἦν, ἐσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν Κλαύδιος Πομπηιανὸς ἐπεβούλευσε· ξίφος γάρ τι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς ἐσόδου στενοχωρίᾳ ἀνατείνας, "ἰδού," ἔφη, "τοῦτό σοι ἡ βουλὴ πέπομφεν."[2] οὗτος ἠγγύητο[3] μὲν τὴν θυγατέρα Λουκίλλης, ἐχρῆτο δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ τῆς κόρης μητρί, 5 καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τῷ Κομμόδῳ ᾠκείωτο ὡς καὶ

[1] αὑτοῦ Reim., αὐτοῦ VC.
[2] πέπομφεν Reim., οὐ πέπομφεν VC.

Dacia. The same Sabinianus also, when twelve thousand of the neighbouring Dacians had been driven out of their own country and were on the point of aiding the others, dissuaded them from their purpose, promising them that some land in our Dacia should be given them. A.D. 180

Commodus was guilty of many unseemly deeds, and killed a great many people.

Many plots were formed by various people against Commodus, and he killed a great many, both men and women, some openly and some by means of poison, secretly, making away, in fact, with practically all those who had attained eminence during his father's reign and his own, with the exception of Pompeianus, Pertinax and Victorinus; these men for some reason or other he did not kill. I state these and subsequent facts, not, as hitherto, on the authority of others' reports, but from my own observation. On coming to Rome he addressed the senate, uttering a lot of trivialities; and among the various stories that he told in his own praise was one to this effect, that once while out riding he had saved the life of his father, who had fallen into a deep quagmire. Such were his lofty pratings. But as he was entering the hunting-theatre, Claudius Pompeianus formed a plot against him: thrusting out a sword in the narrow entrance, he said: "See! This is what the senate has sent you." This man had been betrothed to the daughter of Lucilla, but had intimate relations both with the girl herself and with her mother; in this way he had become friendly with Commodus, so that he was his companion both at banquets and in A.D. 182(?)

[2] ἠγγύητο Dind., ἐνεγγεγύητο VC.

συνεστιᾶσθαι καὶ συννεανιεύεσθαι αὐτῷ. ἡ γὰρ Λουκίλλα οὐδὲν ἐπιεικεστέρα οὐδὲ σωφρονεστέρα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Κομμόδου *ὑπάρχουσα ἤχθετο μὲν τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς*[1] *τῷ* Πομπηιανῷ· *ὅθεν καὶ ἀνέπεισε τὸν εἰρημένον ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ* Κομμόδῳ, *καὶ αὐτόν τε ἀπώλεσε καὶ αὐτὴ φωραθεῖσα* 6 *ἐπανηρέθη. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὴν* Κρισπῖναν *ὁ* Κόμμοδος, *ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ δή τινι ὀργισθεὶς αὐτῇ. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ ἀμφότεραι ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν* Καπρίαν *ὑπερωρίσθησαν.*

Μαρκία *δέ τις* Κουαδράτου[2] *τῶν τότε φονευθέντων ἑνὸς παλλακή, καὶ* Ἔκλεκτος *πρόκοιτος, ὁ μὲν καὶ τοῦ* Κομμόδου *πρόκοιτος, ἡ δὲ παλλακὴ* 7 *ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ* Ἐκλέκτου *μετὰ ταῦτα γυνή· καὶ ἐπεῖδε καὶ ἐκείνους βιαίως ἀποθνήσκοντας. ἱστορεῖται δὲ αὕτη πολλά τε ὑπὲρ τῶν* Χριστιανῶν *σπουδάσαι καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς εὐηργετηκέναι, ἅτε καὶ παρὰ τῷ* Κομμόδῳ *πᾶν δυναμένη.*—Xiph. 269, 19—270, 14 R. St.

5 *Ὅτι ὁ* Κόμμοδος *καὶ* Ἰουλιανὸν *τὸν* Σάλουιον[3] *καὶ* Πάτερνον Ταρρουτήνιον *ἐς τοὺς ὑπατευκότας κατειλεγμένον, ἄλλους τε μετ' αὐτῶν καί τινα καὶ γυναῖκα εὐπατρίδα ἀπέσφαξεν. καίτοι καὶ* Ἰουλιανὸς *δυνηθεὶς ἂν μετὰ τὴν* Μάρκου *τελευτὴν* 2 *πᾶν εὐθὺς*[4] *κατ' αὐτοῦ ὅ τι καὶ ἐβούλετο, ἅτε καὶ ἐλλογιμώτατος ὢν καὶ στρατιὰν μεγάλην ἐπιτετραμμένος τούς τε στρατιώτας ἀνηρτημένος, πρᾶξαι, οὐδὲν ἠθέλησε διά τε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιείκειαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τεθνηκότος εὔνοιαν*

[1] αὐτῆς H. Steph., αὐτῆς VC.
[2] Κουαδράτου H. Steph., κοδράτου VC.
[3] Σάλουιον Val., σελβιον cod. Peir., σερούιον VC.

youthful escapades. Lucilla, who was no more modest or chaste than her brother Commodus, detested her husband, Pompeianus. It was for this reason that she persuaded him to make the attack upon Commodus; and she not only caused his destruction but was herself detected and put out of the way. Commodus also put Crispina to death, having become angry with her for some act of adultery. But before their execution both women were banished to the island of Capreae.

A.D. 182(?)

There was a certain Marcia, the mistress of Quadratus (one of the men slain at this time), and Eclectus, his cubicularius;[1] the latter became the cubicularius of Commodus also, and the former, first the emperor's mistress and later the wife of Eclectus, and she saw them also perish by violence. The tradition is that she greatly favoured the Christians and rendered them many kindnesses, inasmuch as she could do anything with Commodus.

Commodus also killed Salvius Julianus and Tarrutenius Paternus, who was enrolled among the ex-consuls, and others with them, including even a woman of the nobility.[2] And yet Julianus, after the death of Marcus, could have done at once anything whatever that he wished against Commodus, since he was a man of great renown, was in command of a large army, and enjoyed the devotion of his soldiers; but he had refused to make any rebellious move, both because of his own probity and because of the good will that he bore to Marcus even after that

[1] The official who had charge of the sleeping and living rooms.

[2] Vitrasia Faustina.

[4] εὐθὺς Dind., εὐθὺ cod. Peir.

νεοχμῶσαι· καὶ ὁ Πάτερνος ῥᾳδίως ἂν αὐτόν,[1] εἴπερ ἐπεβεβουλεύκει[2] οἱ, ὥσπερ ᾐτιάθη, φονεύσας ἕως ἔτι τῶν δορυφόρων ἦρχεν, οὐκ ἐποίησεν. —Exc. Val. 314 (p. 725), cf. Xiph. 270, 15—18 R. St.

3 Ἐφόνευσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Κυιντιλίους,[3] τόν τε Κονδιανὸν[4] καὶ τὸν Μάξιμον· μεγάλην γὰρ εἶχον δόξαν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ ὁμοφροσύνῃ καὶ πλούτῳ. ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῶν προσόντων σφίσιν ὑπωπτεύοντο καλῶν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν νεώτε-4 ρον ἐνενόουν, ἄχθεσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι. καὶ οὕτως αὐτοί, ὥσπερ ἔζησαν ἅμα, οὕτω καὶ ἀπέθανον μεθ' ἑνὸς τέκνου· διαπρεπέστατα γὰρ τῶν πώποτε ἐφίλησαν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς διεχωρίσθησαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ πολυκτήμονες καὶ παμπλούσιοι, καὶ ἦρχον ὁμοῦ καὶ παρήδρευον ἀλλήλοις.

6 Κονδιανὸς δὲ Σέξτος ὁ τοῦ Μαξίμου υἱός, φύσει τε καὶ παιδείᾳ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρων, ἐπειδὴ ᾔσθετο καὶ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν φερούσης θανατηφόρου ψήφου (διέτριβε δὲ ἐν Συρίᾳ), αἷμα λαγὼ ἔπιε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπί τε ἵππον ἀνέβη καὶ κατέπεσεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπίτηδες, τό τε αἷμα ἤμεσεν ὡς ἴδιον, καὶ ἀρθεὶς ὡς καὶ παραχρῆμα τελευ-2 τήσων ἐς οἴκημα ἐκομίσθη, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο, κριοῦ δὲ σῶμα ἐς λάρνακα ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἐμβληθὲν ἐκαύθη. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν ἀμείβων ἀεὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα

[1] αὐτὸν Rk., αὐτὸς cod. Peir.
[2] ἐπεβεβουλεύκει Dind., ἐπιβεβουλεύκει cod. Peir.
[3] Κυιντιλίους R. Steph., κυιντιλιανοὺς VC.
[4] Κονδιανὸν Reim., καρδιανὸν VC (but correct form in ch. 6, 1).

emperor's death. And Paternus, if he had plotted against Commodus, as he was accused of doing, could easily have killed him while he himself was still in command of the Pretorians; but he had not done so.

A.D. 182(?)

Commodus likewise killed the two Quintilii, Condianus and Maximus; for they had a great reputation for learning, military skill, brotherly accord, and wealth, and their notable talents led to the suspicion that, even if they were not planning any rebellion, they were nevertheless displeased with existing conditions. And thus, even as they had lived together, so they died together, along with the son of one of them. They had offered the most striking example ever seen of mutual affection; and at no time had they ever been separated, even in the offices they held.[1] They had grown prosperous and exceedingly wealthy, and were wont to hold office together and to act as assistants to each other.

Sextus Condianus, the son of Maximus, who surpassed all others by reason both of his native ability and his training, when he heard that sentence of death had been pronounced against him, too, drank the blood of a hare (he was living in Syria at the time), after which he mounted a horse and purposely fell from it; then, as he vomited the blood, which was supposed to be his own, he was taken up, apparently on the point of death, and was carried to his room. He himself now disappeared, while a ram's body was placed in a coffin in his stead and burned. After this, constantly changing his appearance and clothing, he wandered

[1] Cf. the account of the Scribonii in lxiii (lxii). 17.

ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ ἐπλανᾶτο, διαδοθέντος δὲ τοῦ λόγου τούτου (οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τ' ἐστὶ τὰ τηλικαῦτα ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λανθάνειν) ζήτησις 3 αὐτοῦ μεγάλη πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐγένετο, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δι' ὁμοιότητα πολλοὶ δὲ ὡς καὶ συνεγνωκότες τι αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ ὑποδεδεγμένοι πῃ αὐτὸν ἐκολάσθησαν, ἔτι δὲ πλείους οὐδὲ ἑορακότες ποτὲ ἴσως αὐτὸν τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐστερήθη- 4 σαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εἴτε ὄντως ἐσφάγη (πλεῖσται γὰρ κεφαλαὶ ὡς ἐκείνου οὖσαι ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθησαν) εἴτε καὶ ἀπέφυγεν, οὐδεὶς οἶδεν· ἕτερος δέ τις ἐτόλμησε μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Κομμόδου θάνατον Σέξτος τε εἶναι φῆσαι καὶ πρὸς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ τε πλούτου καὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος αὐτοῦ ὁρμῆσαι. καὶ πολλά γε ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀνακριθεὶς ἐκομψεύσατο, 5 ὡς μέντοι καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν[1] τι αὐτὸν ὁ Περτίναξ, ὧν ἐκεῖνος διεπεφύκει, ἀνήρετο, πλεῖστον ἐσφάλη, μηδὲ συνεῖναι τὸ λεγόμενον δυνηθείς. οὕτω που τὸ μὲν εἶδος ἐκ φύσεως καὶ τἆλλα ἐξ ἐπιτηδεύσεως αὐτῷ ἐῴκει, τῆς δὲ δὴ παιδείας αὐτοῦ οὐ μετεσχήκει.

7 Τοῦτό τε οὖν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα παρών, καὶ ἕτερον τοιόνδε εἶδον. ἔστιν ἐν Μαλλῷ[2] πόλει τῆς Κιλικίας Ἀμφιλόχου χρηστήριον, καὶ χρᾷ δι' ὀνειράτων. ἔχρησεν οὖν καὶ τῷ Σέξτῳ, ὃ διὰ γραφῆς ἐκεῖνος ἐδήλωσε· παιδίον γὰρ τῷ πίνακι ἐνεγέγραπτο δύο δράκοντας ἀποπνῖγον καὶ λέων 2 νεβρὸν διώκων. οὐδὲ ἔσχον αὐτὰς συμβαλεῖν, τῷ πατρὶ συνὼν ἄρχοντι τῆς Κιλικίας, πρὶν

[1] τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Suid., ἑλληνικῶν V, ἑλληνικῶς C, ἑλληνοκῶν cod. Peir.
[2] Μαλλῷ Reim., μαλῶ VC.

about here and there. And when this story got out (for it is impossible that such matters should remain hidden very long), diligent search was made for him high and low. Many were punished in his stead on account of their resemblance to him, and many, too, who were alleged to have shared his confidence or to have sheltered him somewhere; and still more persons who had perhaps never even seen him were deprived of their property. But no one knows whether he was really slain,—though a great number of heads purporting to be his were brought to Rome,—or whether he made good his escape. Some other man, however, after the death of Commodus boldly claimed to be Sextus and undertook to recover his wealth and rank. And he played the part bravely, though questioned much by many persons; yet when Pertinax asked him something about Grecian affairs, with which the real Sextus had been well acquainted, he showed the greatest embarrassment, being unable even to understand the question. Thus, though nature had made him like Condianus in appearance and practice had made him similar in other respects, yet he did not share in his learning.

A.D. 182(?)

As for this matter, now, that I have just related, I myself was present and heard it; and I will mention another thing, that I saw. There is in the city of Mallus, in Cilicia, an oracle of Amphilochus that gives responses by means of dreams. Now it had given a response also to Sextus, that he had indicated by means of a drawing; the picture which he had put on the tablet represented a boy strangling two serpents and a lion pursuing a fawn. I was with my father, who was governor of Cilicia

πυθέσθαι τούς τε ἀδελφοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου, ὃς μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐζήλωσε, τρόπον τινὰ πνιγέντας, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἔτι νήπιος ὢν ἱστόρηται τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἥρας ἐπιπεμφθέντας αὐτῷ δράκοντας ἀποπνῖξαι (καὶ γὰρ καὶ οἱ Κυιντίλιοι ἀπηγχονήθησαν), καὶ τὸν Σέξτον φεύγοντα καὶ διωκόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος.—Xiph. 270, 18—271, 25 R. St., Exc. Val. 315 (p. 725) = Suid. *s. v.* Σέξτος.

3 Πάμπολυν ἂν ὄχλον τῇ συγγραφῇ παράσχοιμι, εἰ ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον τοὺς θανατωθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γράφοιμι, ὁπόσους ἐκεῖνος ἢ διὰ συκοφαντίας ψευδεῖς ἢ δι' ὑποψίας οὐκ ἀληθεῖς ἢ διὰ πλοῦτον λαμπρὸν ἢ διὰ γένος εὐδόκιμον ἢ διὰ παιδείας ὑπεροχὴν ἢ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ ἀρετὴν διεχρήσατο.—Xiph. 271, 25—30 R. St.

4 Ὅτι ὁ Κόμμοδος πολλὰ μὲν[1] πλούτου ἐπιδείγματα, πολλῷ δὲ πλείω καὶ φιλοκαλίας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρέσχετο. ἔστι δέ τι καὶ δημωφελὲς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραχθέν· Μανιλίου γὰρ τῷ Κασσίῳ συγγενομένου καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῦ τὰς Λατίνας διοικήσαντος, καὶ μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῷ[2] δυνηθέντος καὶ φυγόντος, εἶτα φωραθέντος, οὔτε τι ἀκοῦσαι καίτοι πολλὰ μηνύσειν ὑπισχνουμένου ἠθέλησε, καὶ τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ πάντα κατέκαυσε πρὶν ἀναγνωσθῆναι.—Exc. Val. 316 (p. 725).

8 Ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ πόλεμοί τινες αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν Δακίαν βαρβάρους, ἐν οἷς ὅ τε Ἀλβῖνος καὶ ὁ Νίγρος οἱ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Σεουήρῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀντιπολεμήσαντες εὐδοκίμησαν, μέγιστος

[1] μὲν supplied by Bk.

at the time, and could not comprehend what the figures meant, until I learned that the brothers had been strangled, so to speak, by Commodus (who later emulated Hercules), just as Hercules, when an infant, is related to have strangled the serpents sent against him by Juno (for the Quintilii, too, had been strangled), and until I learned also that Sextus was a fugitive and was being pursued by a more powerful adversary.

A.D. 182(?)

I should render my narrative very tedious were I to give a detailed report of all the persons put to death by Commodus, of all those whom he made away with as the result of false accusations or unjustified suspicions or because of their conspicuous wealth, distinguished family, unusual learning, or some other point of excellence.

Commodus displayed in Rome itself many indications of wealth and very many more, even, of a love of the beautiful. In fact, he occasionally performed an act of public service. Thus, when Manilius, who had been associated with Cassius, had been secretary of his Latin correspondence, and had possessed the greatest influence with him, was captured after taking to flight, the emperor would not listen to a word from him, though he offered to give a great deal of information, and he burned all the conspirator's papers without reading them.

He also had some wars with the barbarians beyond Dacia, in which Albinus and Niger, who later fought against the emperor Severus, won fame; but the greatest struggle was the one with the Britons.

A.D. 184

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[1] αὐτῷ St., αὐτοῦ cod. Peir.

2 δὲ ὁ Βρεττανικός. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐθνῶν ὑπερβεβηκότων τὸ τεῖχος τὸ διόριζον αὐτούς τε καὶ τὰ τῶν[1] Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα, καὶ πολλὰ κακουργούντων, στρατηγόν τέ τινα μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὓς εἶχε κατακοψάντων, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Κόμμοδος Μάρκελλον Οὔλπιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμ-
3 ψεν. οὑτοσὶ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ μέτριος καὶ εὐτελὴς ὤν, στρατιωτικῶς τε ἀεὶ καὶ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν καὶ περὶ πάντα τἆλλα ζῶν, ὅτε ἐπολέμει, ὑψηλόφρων καὶ φρονηματώδης ἐγίγνετο, χρημάτων τε διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος ἦν, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἡδὺς τὸ ἦθος ἢ φιλάν-
4 θρωπος. ἀϋπνότατος δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν γενόμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ ἐγρηγορέναι βουλόμενος, δώδεκα γραμματεῖα,[2] οἷά γε ἐκ φιλύρας ποιεῖται, καθ' ἑκάστην ἑσπέραν ὡς εἰπεῖν συνέγραφε, καὶ προσέταττέ τινι ἄλλο ἄλλῃ ὥρᾳ κομίζειν τισίν, ἵν' ἐγρηγορέναι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀεὶ νομίζοντες μηδὲ αὐτοὶ ἄδην[3] καθεύδοιεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ὑπνομαχεῖν πεφυκώς, ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ τοῦτο[4] ἐκ τῆς ἀσιτίας[5]
5 ἠσκήκει. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἥκιστα ἄδην ἐσιτεῖτο, καὶ ὅπως μηδὲ τῶν ἄρτων διαπιμπλᾶται, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης αὐτοὺς μετεπέμπετο, οὐχ ὡς οὐ δυνάμενος τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐσθίειν, ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑπὸ τῆς παλαιότητος αὐτῶν μὴ δύνηται μηδὲ σμικρῷ πλέον τοῦ πάνυ ἀναγκαίου φαγεῖν· τὰ γὰρ οὖλα αὐτοῦ κακῶς ἔχοντα ῥᾳδίως ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἄρτων ξηρότητος ᾑμάσσετο. ἐπετήδευε δ' οὖν ἐπὶ μεῖζον αὐτὸ πλάττεσθαι, ἵν' ὡς μάλιστα διαγρυπνεῖν δοκῇ.

[1] τῶν supplied by R. Steph.
[2] γραμματεῖα Suid. A., γραμμάτια cod. Peir. VC Suid. BV.
[3] ἄδην Bk., ἄδδην VC.

When the tribes in that island, crossing the wall A.D. 184 that separated them from the Roman legions, proceeded to do much mischief and cut down a general together with his troops, Commodus became alarmed and sent Ulpius Marcellus against them. This man, who was temperate and frugal and always lived like a soldier in the matter of his food as well as in everything else when he was at war, was becoming haughty and arrogant; he was most conspicuously incorruptible, and yet was not of a pleasant or kindly nature. He showed himself more wakeful than any other general, and as he wished the others who were associated with him to be alert also, he used to write orders on twelve tablets, such as are made out of linden wood, almost every evening, and bid an aide to deliver them to such-and-such persons at various hours, so that these officers, believing the general to be always awake, might not themselves take their fill of sleep. For nature in the first place had made him able to resist sleep, and he had developed this faculty by the discipline of fasting. For in general he would never eat to satiety, and in order that he might not take his fill even of bread, he used to send to Rome for it. This was not because he could not eat the bread of the country, but in order that his bread might be so stale that he should be unable to eat even a small portion more than was absolutely necessary; for his gums were tender and, if the bread was very dry, would soon begin to bleed. However, he purposely exaggerated his natural tendency by simulating, in order that he might have the greatest possible reputation for

[4] τοῦτο VC, αὐτὸ καὶ cod. Peir. Suid.
[5] ἀσιτίας VC, τροφῆς cod. Peir. Suid.

6 Μάρκελλος μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτος ὢν τούς τε βαρβάρους τοὺς ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ δεινῶς ἐκάκωσε, καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου μετὰ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἀποθανεῖν μελλήσας ὅμως ἀφείθη.

9 Περέννιον δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων μετὰ τὸν Πάτερνον[1] ἄρχοντα συνέβη διὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας στασιάσαντας ἀναιρεθῆναι· τοῦ γὰρ Κομμόδου ἁρματηλασίαις καὶ ἀσελγείαις ἐκδεδωκότος ἑαυτόν, καὶ τῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ προσηκόντων οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν πράττοντος, ὁ Περέννιος ἠναγκάζετο οὐχ ὅτι τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ τἆλλα διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν
2[1] καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ προστατεῖν. οἱ οὖν στρατιῶται, ὁπότε τι σφίσι μὴ καταθύμιον ἀπαντήσαι,[2] τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Περέννιον[3] ἀναφέροντες ἐμήνιον[4] αὐτῷ.—Xiph. 271, 30—272, 28 R. St., Exc. Val. 317 (p. 725) = Suid. *s. v.* Μάρκελλος.

2[a] Ὅτι οἱ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ στρατιῶται Πρίσκον ὑποστράτηγον εἵλοντο αὐτοκράτορα· ὁ δὲ παρῃτήσατο εἰπὼν ὅτι "τοιοῦτος ἐγώ εἰμι αὐτοκράτωρ οἷοι ὑμεῖς στρατιῶταί ἐστε."—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 122 (p. 224 Mai. = p. 208, 8—11 Dind.).

2[2] Καὶ οἱ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ τοίνυν ὑπάρχοντες, ἐπειδή τι καὶ ἐπετιμήθησαν ἐφ' οἷς ἐστασίαζον (οὐ γὰρ πρὶν ἡσύχασαν ἢ αὐτοὺς τὸν Περτίνακα παῦσαι), χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἀκοντιστὰς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀπολέξαντες ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔπεμ-
3 ψαν. ὧν μηδενὸς κωλύοντος τῇ Ῥώμῃ πλησιασάντων, ὁ Κόμμοδος ἀπήντησέ τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπύθετο "τί ταῦτα, ὦ συστρατιῶται; τί βουλόμενοι πάρεστε;" εἰπόντων δὲ αὐτῶν "ἥκο-

[1] Πάτερνον R. Steph., μάτερνον VC.

wakefulness. Such a man was Marcellus; and he ruthlessly put down the barbarians of Britain, and later, when, thanks to his peculiar excellence, he was all but on the point of being put to death by Commodus, he was nevertheless pardoned. A.D. 184

Perennis,[1] who commanded the Pretorians after Paternus, met his death as the result of a mutiny of the soldiers. For, inasmuch as Commodus had given himself up to chariot-racing and licentiousness and performed scarcely any of the duties pertaining to his office, Perennis was compelled to manage not only the military affairs, but everything else as well, and to stand at the head of the State. The soldiers, accordingly, whenever any matter did not turn out to their satisfaction, laid the blame upon Perennis and were angry with him. A.D. 185 (186?)

The soldiers in Britain chose Priscus, a lieutenant, emperor; but he declined, saying: "I am no more an emperor than you are soldiers."

The lieutenants in Britain, accordingly, having been rebuked for their insubordination,—they did not become quiet, in fact, until Pertinax quelled them,—now chose out of their number fifteen hundred javelin-men and sent them into Italy. These men had already drawn near to Rome without encountering any resistance, when Commodus met them and asked: "What is the meaning of this, soldiers? What is your purpose in coming?" And when they

[1] This is the Latin form of the name; Dio and Herodian call him Perennius.

[2] ἀπαντῆσαι R. Steph., ἀπαντήσοι VC.
[3] Περέννιον R. Steph., πυρέννιον VC.
[4] ἐμήνιον v. Herw., ἐμηνίων VC Zon.

μεν· Περέννιος γάρ σοι ἐπιβουλεύει, ἵνα αὐτοκράτορα τὸν υἱὸν ἀποδείξῃ," ἐπείσθη τε αὐτοῖς, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Κλεάνδρου ἐνάγοντος, ὃς κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Περεννίου ποιεῖν ὅσα
4 ἠβούλετο δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἐμίσει, καὶ ἐξέδωκε τὸν ἔπαρχον[1] τοῖς στρατιώταις ὧν ἦρχεν, οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησε καταφρονῆσαι χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πολλαπλασίους αὐτῶν δορυφόρους ἔχων. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι[2] καὶ ᾐκίσαντο καὶ κατέκοψαν, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ υἱεῖς δύο προσδιε-
10 φθάρησαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐσφάγη, ἥκιστα δὴ[3] τοῦτο παθεῖν καὶ δι' ἑαυτὸν καὶ διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὀφείλων, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον διὰ τὴν φιλαρχίαν αἰτιώτατος τῷ Πατέρνῳ[4] τῷ συνάρχοντι τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἐγένετο· ἰδίᾳ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν πώποτε οὔτε πρὸς δόξαν οὔτε πρὸς πλοῦτον περιεβάλετο,[5] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδωρότατα καὶ σωφρονέστατα διήγαγε, τοῦ δὲ Κομμόδου καὶ[6] τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀσφάλειαν ἐποιεῖτο.—Xiph. 272, 28—273, 15 R. St.

2 Ὅτι ὁ Κόμμοδος εὐθυμίαις[7] τε πάνυ προσέκειτο καὶ ἁρματηλασίᾳ προσεῖχε, καὶ οὔτ' ἀρχὴν τῶν[8] τοιούτων τι αὐτῷ ἔμελεν, οὔτ' εἰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπεφροντίκει, διαθέσθαι γε αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῆς ἁβρότητος καὶ τῆς ἀπειρίας ἐδύνατο.

Καὶ οἱ Καισάρειοι τούτου[9] ἀπαλλαγέντες (ἦν

[1] ἔπαρχον Sylb., ἵππαρχον VC.
[2] ἐκεῖνοι Sylb., ἐκεῖνον VC.
[3] δὴ Leuncl., δὲ VC.
[4] Πατέρνῳ R. Steph., πατέρνα VC.
[5] περιεβάλετο R. Steph., περιεβάλλετο VC.
[6] καὶ supplied by Hier. Wolf.

answered, "We are here because Perennis is plotting against you and plans to make his son emperor," Commodus believed them, especially as Cleander insisted; for this man had often been prevented by Perennis from doing all that he desired, and consequently he hated him bitterly. He accordingly delivered up the prefect to the very soldiers whose commander he was, and had not the courage to scorn fifteen hundred men, though he had many times that number of Pretorians. So Perennis was maltreated and struck down by those men, and his wife, his sister, and two sons were also killed. Thus Perennis was slain, though he deserved a far different fate, both on his own account and in the interest of the entire Roman empire,—except in so far as his ambition for office had made him chiefly responsible for the ruin of his colleague Paternus. For privately he never strove in the least for either fame or wealth, but lived a most incorruptible and temperate life; and as for Commodus and his imperial office, he guarded them in complete security.

A.D. 185 (186?)

Commodus was wholly devoted to pleasure and gave himself up to chariot-racing, caring nothing for anything of that nature;[1] and, indeed, even if he had been deeply concerned, he would not have been able to administer them by reason of his indolence and his inexperience.

And the imperial freedmen, with Cleander at

A.D. 186(?)

[1] If the text is correct, this must be a reference to the duties of his office.

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[7] *εὐθυμίαις* Val., *ἐκθυμίαις* cod. Peir.
[8] *ἀρχὴν τῶν* Reim., *ἀρχόντων* cod. Peir.
[9] *τούτου—Κλέανδρος* VC, *συνόντες αὐτῷ* cod. Peir.

δὲ αὐτῶν κορυφαῖος ὁ Κλέανδρος) *οὐδὲν ὅ τι κακὸν οὐκ ἔδρων, πωλοῦντες πάντα, ὑβρίζοντες, ἀσελγαίνοντες.*—Exc. Val. 318 (p. 726), Xiph. 273, 15—18, R. St.

Κόμμοδος *δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ βίου περί τε τὰς ῥᾳστώνας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους περί τε τὰς μάχας* 3 *τῶν τε θηρίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶχεν. ἄνευ γὰρ ὧν οἴκοι ἔδρα, πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ θηρία πολλάκις ἔφθειρε· καὶ πέντε γοῦν ἵππους ποταμίους*[1] *ἅμα καὶ δύο ἐλέφαντας ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ χωρὶς αὐτὸς ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶ κατεχρήσατο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ῥινοκέρωτας ἀπέκτεινε καὶ καμηλοπάρδαλιν. ταῦτα μέν μοι κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν λόγου γέγραπται.* —Xiph. 273, 18—25, R. St.

11 *Ὅτι τῷ* Οὐικτωρίνῳ[2] *πολιαρχήσαντι ἀνδριὰς ἔστη. ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ δή ποτε πολλῆς μὲν φήμης πολλῶν δὲ καὶ λόγων ὡς εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ ὀλέθρου αὐτοῦ γιγνομένων ἀπεθρασύνατο,*[3] *καὶ πρὸς τὸν* Περέννιον *προσελθών,*[4] "*ἀκούω,*" *ἔφη,* "*ὅτι με ἀποκτεῖναι ἐθέλετε· τί οὖν μέλλετε; τί δὲ ἀναβάλλεσθε,*[5] 2 *ἐξὸν ὑμῖν ἤδη καὶ τήμερον αὐτὸ δρᾶσαι;*" *ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκ τούτου δεινὸν ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ' αὐτομάτῳ θανάτῳ ἐχρήσατο, καίπερ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ* Μάρκου *ἐν τοῖς πάνυ τιμηθείς, καὶ*

[1] *ποταμίους* V. *πολεμίους* C.

[2] Οὐικτωρίνῳ Bk., *βικτωρίνω* cod. Peir.

[3] *ἀπεθρασύνατο* Bk., *ἀπεθρασύνετο* cod. Peir.

[4] Xiphilinus' account begins: *Οὐικτωρίνῳ* (*βικ.* cod.) *δὲ τῷ πολιαρχήσαντι τελευτήσαντι ὁ ἀνδριὰς ἐδόθη. οὗτος, βουλομένου πολλάκις ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν τοῦ Κομμόδου, ἀναβαλλομένου δὲ καὶ*

their head, after getting rid of this man [Perennis], refrained from no form of mischief, selling all privileges, and indulging in wantonness and debauchery.

A.D. 186(?)

Commodus devoted most of his life to ease and to horses and to combats of wild beasts and of men. In fact, besides all that he did in private, he often slew in public large numbers of men and of beasts as well. For example, all alone with his own hands, he dispatched five hippopotami together with two elephants on two successive days; and he also killed rhinoceroses and a camelopard. This is what I have to say with reference to his career as a whole.

A statue was set up to Victorinus,[1] who had been prefect of the city. He had not died as the victim of any plot; in fact, at one time, when a persistent rumour and many reports, one may almost say, were being circulated about his death, he became emboldened, and approaching Perennis, said: "I hear that you men wish to kill me. Why, then, do you delay? Why do you put it off, when you might do it this very day?" Yet not even after that was he molested by any outside person, but he took his own life; and yet he had been honoured among the foremost men by Marcus, and in point of moral

[1] Cf. Xiph.: "The statue was granted to Victorinus, who had been city prefect, at his death. This man, when Commodus wished to slay him but kept putting the matter off and hesitating, . . . approached Perennis and said: 'I hear,'" etc.

ὀκνοῦντος τὴν πρᾶξιν, . . . προσελθὼν τῷ Περεννίῳ ποτέ, "ἀκούω (ἄκου cod.)," ἔφη, κτἑ.

[5] ἀναβάλλεσθε Val., ἀναβάλλεσθαι cod. Peir.

τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν λόγων παρασκευῇ οὐδενὸς τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν[1] δεύτερος γενόμενος. ἀμέλει δύο ταῦτ' εἰπὼν πάντα τὸν 3 τρόπον αὐτοῦ δηλώσω. τῆς τε Γερμανίας ποτὲ ἄρχων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἴκοι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπειράθη τὸν ὑποστράτηγον πεῖσαι μὴ δωροδοκεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐσήκουεν αὐτοῦ, ἀνέβη τε ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ σιωπὴν[2] τῷ κήρυκι κηρῦξαι προστάξας[3] ὤμοσε 4 μήτ' εἰληφέναι δῶρά ποτε μήτε λήψεσθαι, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκεῖνον ὀμόσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιορκῆσαι, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἡγεμονεύσας ἕνα τῶν παρέδρων ὁμοιότροπόν πως ἐκείνῳ ὄντα τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, ἐπὶ πλοῖον δέ τι ἐπιθεὶς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέπεμψεν.—Exc. Val. 319 (p. 726), Xiph. 273, 25—274, 4 R. St.

12 Τοιοῦτος μέν τις ὁ Οὐικτωρῖνος[4] ἦν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλέανδρος ὁ μετὰ τὸν Περέννιον μέγιστον δυνηθεὶς καὶ ἐπράθη μετὰ τῶν ὁμοδούλων, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ἀχθοφορήσων[5] ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκεκόμιστο, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος οὕτως ηὐξήθη ὥστε καὶ τοῦ Κομμόδου προκοιτῆσαι, τήν τε παλλακίδα αὐτοῦ 2 Δαμοστρατίαν γῆμαι, καὶ τὸν Σαώτερον τὸν Νικομηδέα τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἀποκτεῖναι πρὸς πολλοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις· καίτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος μέγιστον ἠδυνήθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ Νικομηδεῖς καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγειν καὶ νεὼν τοῦ Κομμόδου ποιήσασθαι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς 3 ἔλαβον. ὁ δ' οὖν[6] Κλέανδρος μέγας ὑπὸ τῆς

[1] ἑαυτὸν VC, ἑαυτῶν cod. Peir.
[2] σιωπὴν Bs., σιγὴν Reiske, ἑαυτὸν cod. Peir.
[3] προστάξας Val., προστάξαι cod. Peir.
[4] Οὐικτωρῖνος Bk., βικτωρῖνος VC.

excellence and forensic eloquence stood second to none of his contemporaries. Indeed, two incidents that I shall now relate will reveal his whole character. When he was governor of Germany at one time, he at first attempted by private persuasion at home to induce his lieutenant not to accept bribes; but when the latter would not listen to him, he mounted the tribunal, and after bidding the herald proclaim silence, took oath that he had never accepted bribes and never would. Then he bade the lieutenant take the same oath, and when the other refused to perjure himself, he ordered him to resign his office. And later, when he was governor of Africa and had an associate of similar character to the man just mentioned, though he did not adopt the same method, he nevertheless put him on board a ship and sent him back to Rome. Such, then, was the character of Victorinus.

A.D. 186(?)

As for Cleander, who possessed the greatest influence after Perennis, he had formerly been sold as one of a group of slaves and had been brought to Rome with the others to be a pack-carrier; but in the course of time he advanced to such a point that he actually became Commodus' cubicularius, married the emperor's concubine Damostratia, and put to death Saoterus of Nicomedeia, his predecessor in this office, together with many others. Yet Saoterus, too, had possessed very great influence, so great, in fact, that thanks to it the Nicomedeians had obtained from the senate the privilege of celebrating some games and of erecting a temple to Commodus. So Cleander, raised to greatness by

[5] ἀχθοφορήσων St., ἀχθηφορήσων VC.
[6] δ' οὖν Bk., γοῦν VC.

τύχης ἀρθεὶς καὶ ἐχαρίσατο καὶ ἐπώλησε βουλείας, στρατείας, ἐπιτροπείας, ἡγεμονίας, πάντα πράγματα. καὶ ἤδη τινὲς πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά σφισιν ἀναλώσαντες βουλευταὶ ἐγένοντο, ὥστε καὶ λεχθῆναι ἐπὶ Ἰουλίου Σόλωνος ἀνδρὸς ἀφανεστάτου ὅτι ἐς τὸ συνέδριον τῆς οὐσίας στερηθεὶς
4 ἐξωρίσθη. ταῦτά τε ὁ Κλέανδρος ἐποίει, καὶ ὑπάτους ἐς ἕνα[1] ἐνιαυτὸν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀπέδειξεν· ὃ μήτε[2] πρότερόν ποτε μήθ' ὕστερον ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ Σεουῆρος ὁ μετὰ
5 ταῦτα αὐταρχήσας ὑπάτευσεν. ἠργυρολόγει μὲν οὖν πανταχόθεν, καὶ ἐκτήσατο πλεῖστα τῶν πώποτε ὀνομασθέντων προκοίτων, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν πολλὰ μὲν τῷ Κομμόδῳ ταῖς τε παλλακαῖς αὐτοῦ ἐδίδου, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς οἰκίας καὶ ἐς βαλανεῖα ἄλλα τέ τινα χρήσιμα καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ πόλεσιν ἐδαπάνα.

13 Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κλέανδρος ἐς τοσοῦτον ὄγκον ἀρθεὶς ἔπεσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἀπώλετο μετὰ ἀτιμίας. ἀπέκτειναν δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ τὸν Περέννιον, ἀλλ' ὁ δῆμος. ἐγένετο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἰσχυρὰ σιτοδεία, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δ' αὐτὴν Παπίριος Διονύσιος ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου τεταγμένος ἐπηύξησεν, ἵν' ὡς αἰτιώτατον αὐτῆς τὸν Κλέανδρον ἀπὸ τῶν κλεμμάτων ὄντα
3 καὶ μισήσωσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ διαφθείρωσι. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως. ἱπποδρομία τις ἦν, μελλόντων δὲ τὸ ἕβδομον τῶν ἵππων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι πλῆθός τι παιδίων ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἐσέδραμε, καὶ αὐτῶν παρθένος τις μεγάλη καὶ βλοσυρὰ ἡγεῖτο, ἣν δαίμονα ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάντων ἐνόμισαν

[1] ἕνα Zon., om. VC.

the favour of Fortune, bestowed and sold senatorships, military commands, procuratorships, governorships, and, in a word, everything. In fact, some men became senators only after spending all they possessed, so that it was said of Julius Solon, a very obscure man, that he had been stripped of all his property and banished to—the senate. Besides all this, Cleander appointed twenty-five consuls for one year, a thing that never happened before or since; one of these consuls was Severus, who later became emperor. Cleander, accordingly, was obtaining money from every source, and he amassed more wealth than any who had ever been named cubicularii. A great deal of it he gave to Commodus and his concubines, and he spent a great deal on houses, baths, and other works of benefit either to individuals or to cities. A.D. 186(?)

So this Cleander, too, who had been raised to so exalted a station, fell suddenly and perished in dishonour. It was not the soldiers, however, that killed him, as in the case of Perennis, but the populace. A famine occurred, sufficiently grievous in itself; but its severity was vastly increased by Papirius Dionysius, the grain commissioner, in order that Cleander, whose thefts would seem chiefly responsible for it, might incur the hatred of the Romans and be destroyed by them. And so it came to pass. There was a horse-race on, and as the horses were about to contend for the seventh time, a crowd of children ran into the Circus, led by a tall maiden of grim aspect, who, because of what afterwards happened, was thought to have been a divinity. A.D. 189

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[2] μήτε Zon., μὴ VC.

4 γεγονέναι. τά τε γὰρ παιδία συνεβόησαν πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, καὶ ὁ δῆμος παραλαβὼν αὐτὰ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐξέκραγε, καὶ τέλος καταπηδήσας ὥρμησε πρὸς τὸν Κόμμοδον ἐν τῷ Κυιντιλίῳ προαστείῳ[1] ὄντα,[2] πολλὰ μὲν ἐκείνῳ κἀγαθὰ ἐπευχόμενος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Κλεάνδρου καταρώμενος. καὶ ὃς στρατιώτας τινὰς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἔτρωσάν τινας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν·
5 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀνείρχθη διὰ τοῦτο ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλὰ τῷ τε πλήθει σφῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν δορυφόρων ἰσχύι θαρρήσας ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἠπείχθη. πλησιαζόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ Κομμόδῳ, καὶ μηδενός οἱ μηνύοντος τὸ γινόμενον, Μαρκία ἐκείνη ἡ τοῦ Κουαδράτου
6 ἐσήγγειλε τὸ πραττόμενον· καὶ ὁ Κόμμοδος οὕτως ἔδεισεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ δειλότατος ὤν, ὥστε αὐτίκα καὶ τὸν Κλέανδρον καὶ τὸ παιδίον αὐτοῦ, ὃ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Κομμόδου χερσὶν ἐτρέφετο, σφαγῆναι κελεῦσαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν παιδίον προσουδίσθη καὶ διεφθάρη, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Κλεάνδρου σῶμα παραλαβόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσυραν καὶ ᾐκίσαντο, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ κοντοῦ[3] περιήνεγκαν, καί τινας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν μέγα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ δυναμένων ἐφόνευσαν. —Xiph. 274, 4—275, 19, Exc. Val. 320.

14 Κόμμοδος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐθυμιῶν καὶ παιδιῶν ἀνανεύων ἐφόνα καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας διεχειρίζετο· ὧν ἦν καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ ἔπαρχος, ὃν καὶ δημοσίᾳ περιελάμβανέ τε καὶ κατεφίλει καὶ πατέρα ὠνόμαζεν, Ἰούλιός τε Ἀλέξανδρος, οὗτος μὲν ὡς καὶ λέοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου κατακοντίσας·

[1] προαστείῳ Zon., ἀστείῳ VC.
[2] ὄντα Zon., ὄντι VC.

The children shouted in concert many bitter words, A.D. 189 which the people took up and then began to bawl out every conceivable insult; and finally the throng leaped down and set out to find Commodus (who was then in the Quintilian suburb),[1] invoking many blessings on him and many curses upon Cleander. The latter sent some soldiers against them, who wounded and killed a few; but, instead of being deterred by this, the crowd, encouraged by its own numbers and by the strength of the Pretorians, pressed on with all the greater determination. They were already drawing near to Commodus, whom no one had kept informed of what was going on, when Marcia, the notorious wife of Quadratus, reported the matter to him. And Commodus was so terrified (he was ever the greatest coward) that he at once ordered Cleander to be slain, and likewise his son, who was being reared in the emperor's charge. The boy was dashed to the earth and so perished; and the Romans, taking the body of Cleander, dragged it away and abused it and carried his head all about the city on a pole. They also slew some other men who had enjoyed great power under him.

Commodus, taking a respite from his amusements and sports, turned to murder and was killing off the prominent men. Among these was Julianus, the prefect, whom he had been wont even in public to embrace and kiss and address as "father." Another was Julius Alexander, who was executed for having brought down a lion with his javelin

[1] Probably near Laurentum; cf. Herodian i. 12.

[2] κοντοῦ Sylb., τοῦ κοντοῦ VC.

2 ὅστις ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας παρόντας ᾔσθετο, ἐκείνους τε τῆς νυκτὸς ἐφόνευσε, καὶ τῶν Ἐμεσηνῶν, ὅθεν ἦν, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πάντας προσκατεχρήσατο, ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἵππον τε ἀνέβη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὥρμησε. κἂν
3 ἐξέφυγεν, εἰ μὴ παιδικά τινα συνεπῆκτο· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ κράτιστα ἵππευε, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον καμὸν οὐχ ὑπέμεινε καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς κατελαμβάνετο, ἀπέκτεινε καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἑαυτόν. ἀνῃρέθη δὲ καὶ Διονύσιος πρὸς τοῦ Κομμόδου, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου ταχθείς.

Γέγονε δὲ καὶ νόσος μεγίστη[1] ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα· δισχίλιοι γοῦν πολλάκις ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἐν τῇ
4 Ῥώμῃ ἐτελεύτησαν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἄστει μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ ἀρχῇ ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν κακούργων ἀπέθανον· βελόνας γὰρ μικρὰς δηλητηρίοις τισὶ φαρμάκοις ἐγχρίοντες ἐνίεσαν δι' αὐτῶν ἐς ἑτέρους ἐπὶ μισθῷ τὸ δεινόν· ὅπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ ἐγεγόνει.

15 Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλλυντο, ἦν δὲ ἁπάντων νοσημάτων καὶ ἁπάντων κακουργημάτων χαλεπώτερος Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Κόμμοδος, διά τε τἆλλα καὶ ὅτι ἠναγκάζοντο, ἃ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ κατ' εὔνοιαν ἐψηφίζοντο, ταῦτ' ἐκείνῳ διὰ φόβον
2 ἀπονέμειν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος. Κομμοδιανὴν γοῦν τήν τε Ῥώμην αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα Κομμοδιανά, τήν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα ἐψηφίζετο Κομμοδιανὰ καλεῖσθαι προσέταξεν. ἑαυτῷ δὲ

[1] μεγίστη H. Steph., μεγάλη VC.

while on horseback.[1] This man, when he learned of the arrival of the assassins, murdered them at night, and also destroyed all his enemies at Emesa, his native city; then he mounted a horse and set out to go to the barbarians. And he would have escaped, had he not taken along a boy-favourite with him, since he himself was an excellent horseman; but he could not bring himself to desert the lad, who had become wearied, and so, when he was being overtaken, he killed both the boy and himself. Dionysius, the grain commissioner, also met his death by the orders of Commodus. A.D. 189

Moreover, a pestilence occurred, the greatest of any of which I have knowledge; for two thousand persons often died in Rome in a single day. Then, too, many others, not alone in the City, but throughout almost the entire empire, perished at the hands of criminals who smeared some deadly drugs on tiny needles and for pay infected people with the poison by means of these instruments. The same thing had happened before in the reign of Domitian.[2]

Now the death of these victims passed unheeded; for Commodus was a greater curse to the Romans than any pestilence or any crime. Among other reasons was this, that whatever honours they had been wont to vote to his father out of affection they were now compelled out of fear and by direct command to assign also to the son. He actually ordered that Rome itself should be called Commodiana, the legions Commodian, and the day on which these measures were voted Commodiana. A.D. 190

[1] Probably because the "Roman Hercules" (ch. 15) feared Alexander might detract from his glory.

[2] See lxvii. 11, 6.

ἄλλας τε παμπόλλους ἐπωνυμίας καὶ τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀπήνεγκε. τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην ἀθάνατον εὐτυχῆ κολωνίαν τῆς οἰκουμένης[1] *(καὶ γὰρ ἄποικον αὐτὴν ἑαυτοῦ δοκεῖν ἐβούλετο) ἐπωνόμασεν.*
3 *καὶ ἀνδριάς τε αὐτῷ χρυσοῦς χιλίων λιτρῶν μετά τε ταύρου καὶ βοὸς θηλείας ἐγένετο, καὶ τέλος καὶ οἱ μῆνες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐπεκλήθησαν, ὥστε καταριθμεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς οὕτως, Ἀμαζόνιος Ἀνίκητος Εὐτυχὴς Εὐσεβὴς*[2] *Λούκιος Αἴλιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Αὔγουστος Ἡράκλειος Ῥω-*
4 *μαῖος Ὑπεραίρων. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοτε ἄλλα μετελάμβανε τῶν ὀνομάτων, τὸν δ' Ἀμαζόνιον καὶ τὸν Ὑπεραίροντα παγίως ἑαυτῷ ἔθετο ὡς καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καθ' ὑπερβολὴν νικῶν· οὕτω καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐμεμήνει τὸ*
5 *κάθαρμα. καὶ τῇ βουλῇ οὕτως ἐπέστελλεν·* "Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Αἴλιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Αὔγουστος Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχής, Σαρματικὸς Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος Βρεττανικός, Εἰρηνοποιὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης, Ἀνίκητος,[3] Ῥωμαῖος Ἡρακλῆς, Ἀρχιερεύς, *δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ὀκτωκαιδέκατον, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ὄγδοον, ὕπατος τὸ ἕβδομον,* Πατὴρ Πατρίδος, *ὑπάτοις στρατη-*
6 *γοῖς δημάρχοις*[4] *γερουσίᾳ* Κομμοδιανῇ *εὐτυχεῖ χαίρειν." καὶ ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ παμπληθεῖς ἐν Ἡρακλέους*[5] *σχήματι ἔστησαν. καὶ τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦν τε ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ*

[1] *τῆς οἰκουμένης* Bs., *οἰκουμένην τῆς γῆς* VC.
[2] *Εὐτυχὴς Εὐσεβὴς* VC Zon., *Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχὴς* Joan. Ant.
[3] *ἀνίκητος* R. Steph., *εὐτυχὴς ἀνίκητος* VC.
[4] *δημάρχοις* Bs., following Blancus' translation, *μαρχικοῖς* VC Zon.

Upon himself he bestowed, in addition to a great A.D. 191 many other names, that of Hercules. Rome he styled the "Immortal, Fortunate Colony of the Whole Earth"; for he wished it to be regarded as a settlement of his own. In his honour a gold statue was erected of a thousand pounds' weight, representing him together with a bull and a cow. Finally, all the months were named after him, so that they were enumerated as follows: Amazonius, Invictus, Felix, Pius,[1] Lucius, Aelius, Aurelius, Commodus, Augustus, Herculeus, Romanus, Exsuperatorius. For he himself assumed these several titles at different times, but "Amazonius" and "Exsuperatorius" he applied constantly to himself, to indicate that in every respect he surpassed absolutely all mankind superlatively; so superlatively mad had the abandoned wretch become. And to the senate he would send A.D. 192 messages couched in these terms: "The Emperor Caesar Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus Augustus Pius Felix Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus Britannicus, Pacifier of the Whole Earth, Invincible, the Roman Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Holder of the Tribunician Authority for the eighteenth time, Imperator for the eighth time, Consul for the seventh time, Father of his Country, to consuls, praetors, tribunes, and the fortunate Commodian senate, Greeting." Vast numbers of statues were erected representing him in the garb of Hercules. And it was voted that his age should be named the

[1] Boissevain believes that the order of Felix and Pius should be reversed, inasmuch as the title Pius nearly always precedes Felix in the inscriptions; compare the order of the titles just below.

[5] Ἡρακλέους Zon., ἠρακλέος VC.

ἐς τὰ γράμματα πάντα ὁμοίως ἐσγράφεσθαι ἐψηφίσθη.

16 Οὗτος οὖν ὁ χρυσοῦς, οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, οὗτος ὁ θεός (καὶ γὰρ καὶ[1] τοῦτ' ἤκουεν) ἐξαίφνης ποτὲ μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλάσας τριάκοντα ἵππων ἁμίλλας ἐν δυσὶν ὥραις ἐποίησεν. ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ 2 τὰ χρήματα αὐτὸν ἐπέλιπεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ φιλόδωρος, καὶ πολλάκις τῷ δήμῳ κατὰ δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔδωκεν· τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐς ἐκεῖνα ἃ εἶπον ἐδαπάνα. ὅθεν καὶ ἐγκλήματα καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐπιφέρων οὓς μὲν ἐφόνευεν, οἷς δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν 3 ἐπίπρασκε.[2] καὶ τέλος ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας δύο χρυσοῦς ἕκαστον, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἀπαρχήν, κατ' ἔτος ἐκέλευσέν οἱ ἀποφέρειν, τούς τε ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἁπάσαις πόλεσι βουλευτὰς κατὰ πέντε δραχμάς. καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτων περιεποιεῖτο, ἀλλὰ πάντα κακῶς ἐς τὰ θηρία καὶ τοὺς μονομάχους ἀνήλισκε.

17 Καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ δημοσίῳ οὐδαμόθεν[3] ἅρματα ἤλασε, πλὴν εἰ μή που ἐν ἀσελήνῳ νυκτί, ἐπιθυμήσας μὲν καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἁρματηλατῆσαι, αἰσχυνθεὶς δὲ καὶ ὀφθῆναι τοῦτο ποιῶν· οἴκοι δὲ συνε-

[1] καί supplied by Sylb.

[2] Cf. Exc. Val.: ὅτι ὁ Κόμμοδος πολλὰ παραλόγως ἐδαπάνα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε τἆλλα αὐτῷ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Κλεάνδρου πορισθέντα, καίπερ ἀμύθητα ὄντα, ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθη ἐγκλήματα καὶ γυναιξὶ θανάτου μὲν οὐκ ἄξια φόβου δέ τινος καὶ ἀπειλῆς γέμοντα ἐπιφέρειν. κἀκ τούτου πολλοῦ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπίπρασκε καὶ ὡς παρ' ἑκόντων αὐτῶν τινὰ ἀνάγκῃ ἐλάμβανεν.—Exc. Val. 321 (p. 729).

[3] οὐδαμόθεν] οὐδαμῶς or οὐδαμοῦ? Bs.

"Golden Age," and that this should be recorded in all the records without exception. A.D. 192

Now this "Golden One," this "Hercules," this "god" (for he was even given this name, too) suddenly drove into Rome one afternoon from his suburb and conducted thirty horse-races in the space of two hours. These proceedings had much to do with his running short of funds. He was also fond, it is true, of bestowing gifts, and frequently gave largesses to the populace at the rate of one hundred and forty denarii per man; but most of his expenditures were for the objects I have mentioned. Hence he brought accusations against both men and women, slaying some and to others selling their lives for their property.[1] And finally he ordered us, our wives, and our children each to contribute two gold pieces[2] every year on his birthday as a kind of first-fruits, and commanded the senators in all the other cities to give five denarii apiece. Of this, too, he saved nothing, but spent it all disgracefully on his wild beasts and his gladiators.

In public he nowhere drove chariots except sometimes on a moonless night, for, though he was eager to play the charioteer in public, too, he was ashamed to be seen doing so; but in private he was constantly

[1] Cf. Exc. Val.: "Commodus used to make many unusual expenditures, and for this reason neither his other revenues nor the funds provided by Cleander, though incalculable in amount, sufficed him, and he was compelled to bring charges against even women—charges not calling for capital punishment, yet full of vague terror and threats. In consequence he sold them their lives for a large price and got something from them by force under the guise of a voluntary offering."

[2] See note on p. 54.

χῶς τοῦτ' ἔπραττε, τῇ πρασίνῳ σκευῇ χρώμενος. 2 θηρία μέντοι πολλὰ μὲν οἴκοι ἀπέσφαξε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐμονομάχει, οἴκοι μὲν ὥστε καὶ φονεύειν τινά (ἐν ξυρῷ τε ἑτέρων, ὡς καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀφαιρῶν, παρέτεμνε τῶν μὲν ῥῖνα τῶν δὲ οὖς τῶν δὲ ἄλλο τι), ἐν δὲ τῷ κοινῷ ἄνευ σιδήρου καὶ ἄνευ αἵματος ἀνθρω-3 πείου. ἐνέδυνε[1] δέ, πρὶν μὲν ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσιέναι, χιτῶνα χειριδωτὸν σηρικὸν λευκὸν διάχρυσον[2] (καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γε[3] αὐτὸν τῷ σχήματι ὄντα ἠσπαζόμεθα), ἐσιὼν δὲ ὁλοπόρφυρον χρυσῷ κατάπαστον, χλαμύδα τε ὁμοίαν τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον λαμβάνων, καὶ στέφανον ἔκ τε λίθων Ἰνδικῶν καὶ ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένον, κηρύκειόν 4 τε τοιοῦτον φέρων ὁποῖον ὁ Ἑρμῆς. ἡ γὰρ λεοντῆ τό τε ῥόπαλον ἔν τε ταῖς ὁδοῖς προεφέρετο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ δίφρου ἐπιχρύσου, εἴτε παρείη εἴτε καὶ ἀπείη,[4] ἐτίθετο· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ σχήματι ἐσῄει τε ἐς τὸ θέατρον, καὶ ἀπορρίψας τὰ ἄλλα οὕτως ἐν τῷ χιτῶνι ἀνυπόδητος[5] ἔργου εἴχετο.

18 Καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἄρκτους τε ἑκατὸν αὐτὸς μόνος, ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς περιβολῆς τῆς κρηπῖδος ἀκοντίζων, ἀπέκτεινε· διείληπτο γὰρ τὸ θέατρον πᾶν συμπήκτοις τισὶ διαμέτροις, τήν τε στέγην περίδρομον ἔχουσι καὶ διχῇ τέμνουσιν ἄλληλα, ἵν' ἐξ ὀλίγου πανταχόθεν τετραχῇ τὰ 2 θηρία μεμερισμένα ῥᾷον ἀκοντίζηται. καὶ ἔπιεν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγωνίᾳ καμών, κύλικι ῥοπαλωτῇ παρὰ

[1] ἐνέδυνε Bk., ἐνέδυ VC.
[2] διάχρυσον Camerarius, στάχρυσον VC.
[3] γε Bk., τε VC.
[4] παρείη—ἀπείη Rk., παρῄει—ἀπῄει VC.

doing it, adopting the Green uniform. As for wild A.D. 192 beasts, however, he slew many both in private and in public. Moreover, he used to contend as a gladiator; in doing this at home he managed to kill a man now and then, and in making close passes with others, as if trying to clip off a bit of their hair, he sliced off the noses of some, the ears of others, and sundry features of still others; but in public he refrained from using steel and shedding human blood. Before entering the amphitheatre he would put on a long-sleeved tunic of silk, white interwoven with gold, and thus arrayed he would receive our greetings; but when he was about to go inside, he put on a robe of pure purple with gold spangles, donning also after the Greek fashion a chlamys of the same colour, and a crown made of gems from India and of gold, and he carried a herald's staff like that of Mercury. As for the lion-skin and club, in the street they were carried before him, and in the amphitheatres they were placed on a gilded chair, whether he was present or not. He himself would enter the arena in the garb of Mercury, and casting aside all his other garments, would begin his exhibition wearing only a tunic and unshod.

On the first day he killed a hundred bears all by himself, shooting down at them from the railing of the balustrade; for the whole amphitheatre had been divided up by means of two intersecting cross-walls which supported the gallery that ran its entire length, the purpose being that the beasts, divided into four herds, might more easily be speared at short range from any point. In the midst of the struggle he became weary, and taking from a woman

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[6] ἀνυπόδητος Dind., ἀνυπόδετος VC.

γυναικὸς γλυκὺν οἶνον ἐψυγμένον λαβών, ἀμυστί· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡμεῖς παραχρῆμα πάντες τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις εἰωθὸς λέγεσθαι ἐξεβοήσαμεν, "ζήσειας."[1]—Xiph. 275, 19—278, 4 R. St., Exc. Val. 321, 322, 323, 324, Suid. *s. vv.* *ἀμυστὶ* et *κύλιξ ῥοπαλωτή*.

3 *Καὶ μή μέ τις κηλιδοῦν τὸν τῆς ἱστορίας ὄγκον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα συγγράφω, νομίσῃ. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἶπον αὐτά· ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρός τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐγένετο καὶ παρὼν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ καὶ εἶδον ἕκαστα καὶ ἤκουσα καὶ ἐλάλησα, δίκαιον ἡγησάμην μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτά, ὥσπερ τι ἄλλο τῶν μεγίστων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων, τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἐσέπειτα ἐσομένων παραδοῦναι.* 4 *καὶ μέντοι καὶ τἆλλα πάντα τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ πραχθέντα καὶ λεπτουργήσω καὶ λεπτολογήσω μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρότερα, ὅτι τε συνεγενόμην αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅτι μηδένα ἄλλον οἶδα τῶν τι δυναμένων ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀξίαν λόγου καταθέσθαι διηκριβωκότα αὐτὰ ὁμοίως ἐμοί.*

19 *Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις τοτὲ μὲν βοτά, κάτω ἐς τὸ τοῦ κύκλου ἔδαφος καταβαίνων ἄνωθεν, ὅσα ἐπλησίαζε, τὰ δὲ καὶ προσαγόμενα ἢ καὶ ἐν δικτύοις αὐτῷ προσφερόμενα, κατέκοπτε, καὶ τίγριν ἔσφαξεν ἵππον τε ποτάμιον καὶ ἐλέφαντα.* 2 *πράξας δὲ ταῦτα ἀπηλλάττετο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀρίστου ἐμονομάχει. ἤσκει δὲ καὶ ἐχρῆτο τῇ ὁπλίσει τῇ τοῦ σεκούτορος καλουμένου, τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ δὲ ξίφος τὸ ξύλινον ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ*

[1] *ζήσειας* VC Suid., *ζήσεις* cod. Peir.

some chilled sweet wine in a cup shaped like a club, A.D. 192 he drank it at one gulp. At this both the populace and we [senators] all immediately shouted out the words so familiar at drinking-bouts, "Long life to you!"

And let no one feel that I am sullying the dignity of history by recording such occurrences. On most accounts, to be sure, I should not have mentioned this exhibition; but since it was given by the emperor himself, and since I was present myself and took part in everything seen, heard and spoken, I have thought proper to suppress none of the details, but to hand them down, trivial as they are, to the memory of those who shall live hereafter, just like any events of the greatest weight and importance. And, indeed, all the other events that took place in my lifetime I shall describe with more exactness and detail than earlier occurrences, for the reason that I was present when they happened and know no one else, among those who have any ability at writing a worthy record of events, who has so accurate a knowledge of them as I.

On the first day, then, the events that I have described took place. On the other days he descended to the arena from his place above and cut down all the domestic animals that approached him and some also that were led up to him or were brought before him in nets. He also killed a tiger, a hippopotamus, and an elephant. Having performed these exploits, he would retire, but later, after luncheon, would fight as a gladiator. The form of contest that he practised and the armour that he used were those of the *secutores*, as they were called: he held the shield in his right hand and the wooden

ἔχων· καὶ πάνυ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα ἐφρόνει ὅτι 3 ἦν ἐπαρίστερος. ἀντηγωνίζετο δὲ αὐτῷ γυμναστής τις ἢ καὶ μονομάχος νάρθηκα ἔχων, ἔστι μὲν ὅτε ὃν αὐτὸς προεκαλεῖτο, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε ὃν ὁ δῆμος ᾑρεῖτο· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τἆλλα ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἄλλοις μονομάχοις ἐποίει, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὀλίγον τι λαμβάνοντες ἐσίασι, τῷ δὲ δὴ Κομμόδῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν μονομαχικῶν χρημάτων ἐδίδοντο. 4 παρειστήκεσαν δὲ αὐτῷ μαχομένῳ Αἰμίλιός τε Λαῖτος ὁ ἔπαρχος καὶ[1] Ἔκλεκτος ὁ πρόκοιτος, οὓς[2] καὶ σκιαμαχήσας καὶ νικήσας δῆλον ὅτι ἐφίλει ὥσπερ εἶχε διὰ τοῦ κράνους. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐμάχοντο. καὶ τῇ γε πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτὸς πάντας σφᾶς κάτωθεν, τό τε τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ σχῆμα πᾶν μετ' ἐπιχρύσου ῥάβδου λαβὼν καὶ ἐπὶ βῆμα ὅμοιον ἀναβάς, συνέβαλεν· ὅπερ 5 που καὶ ἐν τέρατος λόγῳ ἔσχομεν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπί τε τὴν συνήθη ἕδραν ἀνῄει καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τὰ λοιπὰ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐθεώρει· ἐπράττετο δ' οὐδὲν ἔτι παιδιᾶς ἐχόμενον, ἀλλ' ὥστε πάνυ πολλοὺς ἀποθνήσκειν. καὶ δή ποτε βραδυνάντων τινῶν περὶ τὰς σφαγὰς τούς τε ἀντιπάλους συνέδησεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ πάντας ἅμα μάχεσθαι ἐκέλευσε. 6 κἀκ τούτου ἠγωνίσαντο μὲν εἷς πρὸς ἕνα οἱ συνδεδεμένοι, ἔσφαξαν δέ τινες καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν προσήκοντάς σφισιν, ὑπό τε τοῦ ὄχλου καὶ τῆς στενοχωρίας ἐμπελασθέντες αὐτοῖς.

20 Τοιαύτη μὲν τὸ σύμπαν ἡ θέα ἐκείνη τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα ἡμέραις ἐγένετο· ἀγωνιζομένου δ' αὐτοῦ

[1] καὶ Bk., καὶ ὁ VC.
[2] οὓς supplied by Reim.

sword in his left, and indeed took great pride in the fact that he was left-handed. His antagonist would be some athlete or perchance a gladiator armed with a wand; sometimes it was a man that he himself had challenged, sometimes one chosen by the people, for in this as well as other matters he put himself on an equal footing with the other gladiators, except for the fact that they enter the lists for a very small sum, whereas Commodus received a million sesterces from the gladiatorial fund each day. Standing beside him as he fought were Aemilius Laetus, the prefect, and Eclectus, his cubicularius; and when he had finished his sparring match, and of course won it, he would then, just as he was, kiss these companions through his helmet. After this the regular contestants would fight. The first day he personally paired all the combatants down in the arena, where he appeared with all the trappings of Mercury, including a gilded wand, and took his place on a gilded platform; and we regarded his doing this as an omen. Later he would ascend to his customary place and from there view the remainder of the spectacle with us. After that the contests no longer resembled child's play, but were so serious that great numbers of men were killed. Indeed, on one occasion, when some of the victors hesitated to slay the vanquished, he fastened the various contestants together and ordered them all to fight at once. Thereupon the men so bound fought man against man, and some killed even those who did not belong to their group at all, since the numbers and the limited space had brought them together.

A.D. 192

That spectacle, of the general character I have described, lasted fourteen days. When the emperor

ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ βουλευταὶ ἀεὶ μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων συνεφοιτῶμεν, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι Πομπηιανὸς Κλαύδιος ὁ γέρων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ἀπήντησεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν υἱεῖς ἔπεμπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδέποτε ἀφίκετο, αἱρούμενος ἀποσφαγῆναι ἐπὶ τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν τοῦ Μάρκου παῖδα ἐπιδεῖν 2 *τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντα. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπεβοῶμεν τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκελευόμεθα, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο συνεχῶς, "καὶ κύριος εἶ καὶ πρῶτος εἶ καὶ πάντων εὐτυχέστατος. νικᾷς, νικήσεις.*[1] *ἀπ' αἰῶνος, Ἀμαζόνιε, νικᾷς." τοῦ δὲ δὴ λοιποῦ δήμου πολλοὶ μὲν οὐδὲ ἐσῆλθον ἐς τὸ θέατρον, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ παρακύψαντες ἀπηλλάττοντο τὸ μέν τι*[2] *αἰσχυνόμενοι τοῖς ποιουμένοις, τὸ δὲ καὶ δεδιότες, ἐπειδὴ λόγος διῆλθεν ὅτι τοξεῦσαί τινας ἐθελήσει ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τὰς Στυμφαλίδας.* 3 *καὶ ἐπιστεύθη γε οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ἐπειδή ποτε πάντας τοὺς τῶν ποδῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑπὸ νόσου ἢ καὶ ἑτέρας τινὸς συμφορᾶς ἐστερημένους ἀθροίσας δρακόντων τέ τινα αὐτοῖς εἴδη περὶ τὰ γόνατα περιέπλεξε, καὶ σπόγγους ἀντὶ λίθων βάλλειν δοὺς ἀπέκτεινέ σφας ῥοπάλῳ παίων ὡς γίγαντας.*—Xiph. 278, 4—279, 26 R. St., Exc. Val. 325, 326.

21 *Οὗτος μὲν ὁ φόβος πᾶσι κοινὸς καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἦν· ἔπραξε δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τι τοιόνδε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς βουλευτάς, ἐξ οὗ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπολεῖσθαι προσεδοκήσαμεν. στρουθὸν γὰρ ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμὼν προσῆλθεν ἔνθα ἐκαθήμεθα, τῇ τε ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ*

[1] *εὐτυχέστατος. νικᾷς νικήσεις* R. Steph., *εὐτυχεστάτας νίκας νικήσεις* VC Zon.

was fighting, we senators together with the knights A.D. 192 always attended. Only Claudius Pompeianus the elder never appeared, but sent his sons, while remaining away himself; for he preferred even to be killed for this rather than to behold the emperor, the son of Marcus, conducting himself in such a fashion. For among other things that we did, we would shout out whatever we were commanded, and especially these words continually: "Thou art lord and thou art first, of all men most fortunate. Victor thou art, and victor thou shalt be; from everlasting, Amazonian, thou art victor." But of the populace in general, many did not enter the amphitheatre at all, and others departed after merely glancing inside, partly from shame at what was going on, partly also from fear, inasmuch as a report spread abroad that he would want to shoot a few of the spectators in imitation of Hercules and the Stymphalian birds. And this story was believed, too, because he had once got together all the men in the city who had lost their feet as the result of disease or some accident, and then, after fastening about their knees some likenesses of serpents' bodies, and giving them sponges to throw instead of stones, had killed them with blows of a club, pretending that they were giants.

This fear was shared by all, by us [senators] as well as by the rest. And here is another thing that he did to us senators which gave us every reason to look for our death. Having killed an ostrich and cut off its head, he came up to where we were sitting, holding the head in his left hand and in

[2] τι H. Steph., τοι VC.

ἐκείνην καὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ ξίφος ᾑματωμένον ἀνα-
2 τείνας, καὶ εἶπε μὲν οὐδέν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σεσηρὼς ἐκίνησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο δράσει. κἂν συχνοὶ παραχρῆμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ γελάσαντες ἀπηλλάγησαν τῷ ξίφει (γέλως γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἀλλ' οὐ λύπη ἔλαβεν), εἰ μὴ δάφνης φύλλα, ἃ ἐκ τοῦ στεφάνου εἶχον, αὐτός τε διέτραγον[1] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς πλησίον μου καθημένους διατραγεῖν ἔπεισα, ἵν' ἐν τῇ τοῦ στόματος συνεχεῖ κινήσει τὸν τοῦ γελᾶν ἔλεγχον ἀποκρυψώμεθα.

3 Τοιούτων δ' οὖν τούτων γενομένων παρεμυθήσατο ἡμᾶς ὅτι μέλλων αὖθις μονομαχῆσαι παρήγγειλεν ἡμῖν ἔν τε τῇ στολῇ τῇ ἱππάδι καὶ ἐν ταῖς[2] μανδύαις ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσελθεῖν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἄλλως ποιοῦμεν ἐσιόντες ἐς τὸ θέατρον εἰ μὴ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τις μεταλλάξειε, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τὸ κράνος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰς πύλας καθ' ἃς οἱ τελευτῶντες ἐκφέρονται ἐξεκομίσθη. ἐκ γὰρ τούτων καὶ πάνυ πᾶσι πάντως ἀπαλλαγή τις αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι ἐνομίζετο.

22 Ἀπέθανέ γέ τοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνῃρέθη, οὐκ ἐς μακράν. ὁ γὰρ Λαῖτος καὶ ὁ Ἔκλεκτος ἀχθόμενοι αὐτῷ δι' ἃ ἐποίει, καὶ προσέτι καὶ φοβηθέντες (ἠπείλει γάρ σφισιν, ὅτι ἐκωλύετο ταῦτα ποιεῖν),
2 ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ. ὁ γὰρ Κόμμοδος ἀμφοτέρους ἀνελεῖν ἐβούλετο τοὺς ὑπάτους, Ἐρύκιόν τε Κλᾶρον καὶ Σόσσιον Φάλκωνα,[3] καὶ ὕπατός τε ἅμα καὶ σεκούτωρ ἐν τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἐν ᾧ οἱ μονομάχοι τρέφονται προελθεῖν· καὶ γὰρ τὸν οἶκον τὸν πρῶτον παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς καὶ εἷς ἐξ

[1] διέτραγον Dind., διέφαγον VC.

his right hand raising aloft his bloody sword; and A.D. 192 though he spoke not a word, yet he wagged his head with a grin, indicating that he would treat us in the same way. And many would indeed have perished by the sword on the spot, for laughing at him (for it was laughter rather than indignation that overcame us), if I had not chewed some laurel leaves, which I got from my garland, myself, and persuaded the others who were sitting near me to do the same, so that in the steady movement of our jaws we might conceal the fact that we were laughing.

After the events described he raised our spirits. For when he was intending to fight once more as a gladiator, he bade us enter the amphitheatre in the equestrian garb and in our woollen cloaks, a thing that we never do when going to the amphitheatre except when one of the emperors has passed away; and on the last day his helmet was carried out by the gates through which the dead are taken out. These events caused absolutely every one of us to believe that we were surely about to be rid of him.

And he actually did die, or rather was slain, before long. For Laetus and Eclectus, displeased at the things he was doing, and also inspired by fear, in view of the threats he made against them because they tried to prevent him from acting in this way, formed a plot against him. It seems that Commodus wished to slay both the consuls, Erucius Clarus and Sosius Falco, and on New Year's Day to issue forth both as consul and *secutor* from the quarters of the gladiators; in fact, he had the first cell there, as if

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[2] ταῖς R. Steph., τοῖς VC.
[3] Φάλκωνα Reim., φλάκον VC.

3 *αὐτῶν ὤν, εἶχε. καὶ μηδεὶς ἀπιστήσῃ· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ κολοσσοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμὼν καὶ ἑτέραν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντιθείς, καὶ ῥόπαλον δοὺς λέοντά τέ τινα χαλκοῦν ὑποθεὶς ὡς Ἡρακλεῖ ἐοικέναι, ἐπέγραψε πρὸς τοῖς δηλωθεῖσιν αὐτοῦ ἐπωνύμοις καὶ τοῦτο, "πρωτόπαλος σεκουτόρων, ἀριστερὸς μόνος νικήσας δωδεκάκις" οἶμαι "χιλίους."*[1]—Xiph. 279, 26—280, 24 R. St.

4 *Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὅ τε Λαῖτος καὶ ὁ Ἔκλεκτος ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ, κοινωσάμενοι καὶ τῇ Μαρκίᾳ τὸ βούλευμα. ἐν γοῦν τῇ τελευταίᾳ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν τῇ νυκτί, τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσχολίαν περὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐχόντων, φάρμακον διὰ τῆς Μαρκίας ἐν* 5 *κρέασι βοείοις αὐτῷ ἔδωκαν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἠδυνήθη παραχρῆμα ὑπό τε τοῦ οἴνου ὑπό τε τῶν λουτρῶν, οἷς ἀεὶ ἀπλήστως ἐχρῆτο, φθαρῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξήμεσέ τι κἀκ τούτου ὑποτοπήσας αὐτὸ ἠπείλει τινά, οὕτω δὴ Νάρκισσόν τινα γυμναστὴν ἐπέπεμψαν*[2] *αὐτῷ, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου λούμενον*[3] *αὐτὸν* 6 *ἀπέπνιξαν. τῷ μὲν οὖν Κομμόδῳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο ἔτη δώδεκα καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα καὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἄρξαντι, ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη τριάκοντα ἓν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας· καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἡ οἰκία ἡ τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς Αὐρηλίων αὐταρχοῦσα ἐπαύσατο.*

23 *Πόλεμοι δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ στάσεις μέγισται συνέβησαν, συνέθηκα δ' ἐγὼ τούτων τὴν συγγραφὴν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. βιβλίον τι περὶ τῶν*

[1] Cf. Petr. Patr. : . . . . *ἔγραψεν Λούκιος Κόμοδος Ἡρακλῆς* 3a *ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ φερόμενον ἐπίγραμμα γέγονεν ὅτι*

<ὁ τοῦ> Διὸς παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς
οὐκ εἰμὶ Λούκιος, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζουσί με.

—*Exc. Vat.* 124 (p. 225 Mai. = p. 208, 18—23 Dind.).

[2] *ἐπέπεμψαν* Sylb., *ἔπεμψαν* VC.

he were one of them. Let no one doubt this statement. Indeed, he actually cut off the head of the Colossus, and substituted for it a likeness of his own head; then, having given it a club and placed a bronze lion at its feet, so as to cause it to look like Hercules, he inscribed on it, in addition to the list of his titles which I have already indicated, these words: "Champion of *secutores;* only left-handed fighter to conquer twelve times (as I recall the number) one thousand men."[1] A.D. 192

For these reasons Laetus and Eclectus attacked him, after making Marcia their confidant. At any rate, on the last day of the year, at night, when people were busy with the holiday, they caused Marcia to administer poison to him in some beef. But the immoderate use of wine and baths, which was habitual with him, kept him from succumbing at once, and instead he vomited up some of it; and thus suspecting the truth, he indulged in some threats. Then they sent Narcissus, an athlete, against him, and caused this man to strangle him while he was taking a bath. Such was the end of Commodus, after he had ruled twelve years, nine months, and fourteen days. He had lived thirty-one years and four months; and with him the line of the genuine Aurelii ceased to rule.

After this there occurred most violent wars and civil strife. I was inspired to write an account of these struggles by the following incident. I had

[1] Cf. Patr.: ". . . was written by Lucius Commodus Hercules, and upon it was inscribed the well-known couplet:

'Jove's son, victorious Hercules, am I,
Not Lucius, e'en though forced that name to bear.'"

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[3] λούμενον Dind., λουόμενον VC.

ὀνειράτων καὶ τῶν σημείων δι' ὧν ὁ Σεουῆρος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἤλπισε, γράψας ἐδημο-
2 σίευσα· καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκεῖνος πεμφθέντι παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐντυχὼν πολλά μοι καὶ καλὰ ἀντεπέστειλε. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ τὰ γράμματα πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἤδη λαβὼν κατέδαρθον, καί μοι καθεύδοντι προσέταξε τὸ δαιμόνιον ἱστορίαν γράφειν.[1] καὶ οὕτω δὴ
3 ταῦτα περὶ ὧν νῦν καθίσταμαι ἔγραψα. καὶ ἐπειδή γε τοῖς τε[2] ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Σεουήρῳ μάλιστα ἤρεσε, τότε δὴ καὶ τἆλλα πάντα τὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσήκοντα συνθεῖναι ἐπεθύμησα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκέτι ἰδίᾳ ἐκεῖνο ὑπολιπεῖν ἀλλ' ἐς τήνδε τὴν συγγραφὴν ἐμβαλεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, ἵν' ἐν μιᾷ πραγματείᾳ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πάντα, μέχρις ἂν
4 καὶ τῇ Τύχῃ δόξῃ, γράψας καταλίπω. τὴν δὲ δὴ θεὸν ταύτην ἐπιρρωννύουσάν με πρὸς τὴν ἱστορίαν εὐλαβῶς πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ ὀκνηρῶς διακείμενον, καὶ πονούμενον ἀπαγορεύοντά τε ἀνακτωμένην δι' ὀνειράτων, καὶ καλὰς ἐλπίδας περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου διδοῦσάν μοι ὡς ὑπολειψομένου[3] τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀμαυρώσοντος, ἐπίσκοπον τῆς τοῦ βίου διαγωγῆς, ὡς ἔοικεν,
5 εἴληχα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῇ ἀνάκειμαι. συνέλεξα δὲ πάντα τὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις μέχρι τῆς Σεουήρου μεταλλαγῆς πραχθέντα ἐν ἔτεσι δέκα, καὶ συνέγραψα ἐν ἄλλοις δώδεκα· τὰ γὰρ λοιπά, ὅπου ἂν καὶ προχωρήσῃ, γεγράψεται.

24 Πρὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Κομμόδου τελευτῆς σημεῖα τάδε ἐγένετο· ἀετοί τε γὰρ περὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον

[1] γράφειν Rk., γραφῆναι VC.
[2] τε Sylb., τότε VC.
[3] ὑπολειψομένου Reim., ὑπολειψόμενος VC.

written and published a little book about the dreams A.D. 193 and portents which gave Severus reason to hope for the imperial power; and he, after reading the copy I sent him, wrote me a long and complimentary acknowledgment. This letter I received about nightfall, and soon after fell asleep; and in my dreams the Divine Power commanded me to write history. Thus it was that I came to write the narrative with which I am at this moment concerned. And inasmuch as it won the high approval, not only of others, but, in particular, of Severus himself, I then conceived a desire to compile a record of everything else that concerned the Romans. Therefore, I decided to leave the first treatise no longer as a separate composition, but to incorporate it in this present history, in order that in a single work I might write down and leave behind me a record of everything from the beginning down to the point that shall seem best to Fortune. This goddess gives me strength to continue my history when I become timid and disposed to shrink from it; when I grow weary and would resign the task, she wins me back by sending dreams; she inspires me with fair hopes that future time will permit my history to survive and never dim its lustre; she, it seems, has fallen to my lot as guardian of the course of my life, and therefore I have dedicated myself to her. I spent ten years in collecting all the achievements of the Romans from the beginning down to the death of Severus, and twelve years more in composing my work. As for subsequent events, they also shall be recorded, down to whatever point it shall be permitted me.

Before the death of Commodus there were the following portents: many eagles of ill omen soared

πολλοὶ καὶ ἔξεδροι ἐπλανῶντο, προσεπιφθεγγόμενοι οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖον, καὶ βύας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔβυξε, πῦρ τε νύκτωρ ἀρθὲν ἐξ οἰκίας τινὸς καὶ ἐς τὸ Εἰρηναῖον ἐμπεσὸν τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν τε Αἰγυπ-
2 τίων καὶ τῶν Ἀραβίων φορτίων ἐπενείματο, ἔς τε τὸ παλάτιον μετεωρισθὲν ἐσῆλθε καὶ πολλὰ πάνυ αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα ὀλίγου δεῖν πάντα φθαρῆναι. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ δεινὸν στήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην αὐτῆς
3 ἀφίξεται. οὐδὲ γὰρ κατασβεσθῆναι ἀνθρωπίνῃ χειρὶ ἠδυνήθη, καίτοι παμπόλλων μὲν ἰδιωτῶν παμπόλλων δὲ στρατιωτῶν ὑδροφορούντων, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κομμόδου ἐπελθόντος ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου καὶ ἐπισπέρχοντος. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πάντα ὅσα κατέσχε διέφθειρεν, ἐξαναλωθὲν ἐπαύσατο. —Xiph. 280, 24—282, 8, R. St.

about the Capitol and moreover uttered screams that A.D. 192 boded nothing peaceful, and an owl hooted there; and a fire that began at night in some dwelling leaped to the temple of Pax and spread to the storehouses of Egyptian and Arabian wares, whence the flames, borne aloft, entered the palace and consumed very extensive portions of it, so that nearly all the State records were destroyed. This, in particular, made it clear that the evil would not be confined to the City, but would extend over the entire civilized world under its sway. For the conflagration could not be extinguished by human power, though vast numbers both of civilians and soldiers carried water, and Commodus himself came in from the suburb and encouraged them. Only when it had destroyed everything on which it had laid hold did it spend its force and die out.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIV

LXXIV 1, 1 Περτίναξ δὲ ἦν μὲν τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν, ἦρξε δὲ πάνυ βραχύν τινα χρόνον, εἶτα πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνηρέθη. λανθάνοντος γὰρ ἔτι τοῦ γεγενημένου περὶ τὸν Κόμμοδον ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἔκλεκτον καὶ Λαῖτον, καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν ἐμήνυσαν·[1] διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα 2 αὐτοῦ ἡδέως αὐτὸν ἐπελέξαντο. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος, καὶ ἀκούσας ὧν ἔλεγον, ἔπεμψε τὸν πιστότατον τῶν ἑταίρων τὸ σῶμα τὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου ὀψόμενον. ὡς δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν ἐβεβαιώσατο, οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κρύφα ἐσεκομίσθη, καὶ ἔκπληξιν μὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις παρέσχε, τῇ δὲ δὴ παρουσίᾳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Λαῖτον, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὑπέσχετο (τρισχιλίας γὰρ αὐτοῖς δραχμὰς κατ' ἄνδρα δώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο[2]), προσεποιήσατο 3 αὐτούς. κἂν πάντως ἡσύχασαν, εἰ μὴ τελευτῶν τὸν λόγον[3] ὧδέ πως εἶπε, "πολλὰ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, καὶ δυσχερῆ τῶν παρόντων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὖθις σὺν ὑμῖν[4] ἐπανορθώσεται·" ἀκούσαντες γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπετόπησαν πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς δεδομένα καταλυθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἐδυσκόλαναν μέν, ἡσύχασαν δὲ ὅμως ἐπικρύπτοντες τὴν ὀργήν. 4 ἐξελθὼν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον

[1] ἐμήνυσαν H. Steph., ἐνόμισαν VC.
[2] ἐπηγγείλατο Bk., ἐψηφίσατο VC.
[3] τελευτῶν τὸν λόγον Bk., τελευτὴν τῶν λόγων VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIV

A.D. 193

PERTINAX was an excellent and upright man, but he ruled only a very short time, and was then put out of the way by the soldiers. While the fate of Commodus still remained a secret, the followers of Laetus and Eclectus came to him and informed him what had been done; for because of his excellence and his rank they were glad to choose him. And he, after seeing them and hearing their story, sent his most trustworthy companion to view the body of Commodus. When this man had confirmed the report of the deed, Pertinax then betook himself secretly to the camp. At first his arrival caused the soldiers alarm; but thanks to the presence of Laetus' adherents and to the offers that Pertinax made (he promised to give them twelve thousand sesterces apiece), he won them over. Indeed, they would have remained perfectly quiet, had he not in closing his speech made some such remark as this: "There are many distressing circumstances, fellow-soldiers, in the present situation; but the rest with your help shall be set right again." On hearing this, they suspected that all the privileges granted them by Commodus in violation of precedent would be abolished, and they were displeased; nevertheless, they remained quiet, concealing their anger. On leaving the camp, he came to the senate-house while

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[a] ὑμῖν R. Steph., ἡμῖν VC.

νυκτὸς ἔτι οὔσης ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἀσπασάμενος ἡμᾶς ὅπως τις, οἷα ἐν ὁμίλῳ καὶ ἐν ὠθισμῷ τοσούτῳ, προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἠδυνήθη, ἔπειτα ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοσχεδίου εἶπεν ὅτι "ὠνόμασμαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοκράτωρ, οὐδὲν μέντοι τῆς ἀρχῆς δέομαι, ἀλλ' ἐξίσταμαι ἤδη καὶ τήμερον αὐτῆς διά τε τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἡλικίαν καὶ ἀρρωστίαν καὶ 5 διὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων δυσχέρειαν." λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἐπῃνοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γνώμης καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ᾑρούμεθα· τήν τε γὰρ ψυχὴν ἄριστος ἦν καὶ τῷ σώματι ἔρρωτο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον βραχύ τι ὑπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἐνεποδίζετο.

2 Καὶ οὕτως ὅ τε Περτίναξ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ὁ Κόμμοδος πολέμιος ἀπεδείχθη, πολλά γε ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ δεινὰ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου συμβοησάντων. ἠθέλησαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ σῦραι καὶ διασπάσαι ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας, εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Περτίνακος τῇ γῇ ἤδη τὸν νεκρὸν κεκρύφθαι, τοῦ μὲν σώματος ἀπέσχοντο, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐνεφοροῦντο, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπιλέγοντες· Κόμμοδον μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδ' αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ὠνόμαζεν, ἀλιτήριον δέ τινα καὶ τύραννον ἀποκαλοῦντες προσετίθεσαν ἐπισκώπτοντες τὸν μονομάχον, τὸν ἁρματηλάτην, 3 τὸν ἀριστερόν, τὸν κηλήτην. τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς, ὅσοις καὶ μάλιστα[1] ἐκ τοῦ Κομμόδου φόβος ἐπήρτητο,[2] ὁ ὄχλος ἐπέλεγεν "εὖγε εὖγε,[3] ἐσώθης, ἐνίκησας." ὅσα τε εἰώθεσαν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κομμόδου θεραπείᾳ εὐρύθμως πως ἐκβοᾶν, ταῦτα τότε μετασχηματί-

[1] καὶ μάλιστα Sylb., μάλιστα καὶ VC.
[2] ἐπήρτητο Kuiper, ἐπῆρτο VC.

it was still night, and after greeting us, so far as it was possible for anyone to approach him in the midst of such a jostling throng, he said off-hand: "I have been named emperor by the soldiers; however, I do not want the office and shall resign it at once, this very day, because of my age and feeble health, and because of the distressing state of affairs." This was no sooner said than we gave him our genuine approbation and chose him in very truth; for he was not only most noble in spirit but also strong in body, except that he suffered from a slight impediment in walking by reason of his feet. A.D. 193

In this way was Pertinax declared emperor and Commodus a public enemy, after both the senate and the populace had joined in shouting many bitter words against the latter. They wanted to drag off his body and tear it limb from limb, as they did do, in fact, with his statues; but when Pertinax informed them that the corpse had already been interred, they spared his remains, but glutted their rage against him in other ways, calling him all sorts of names. For no one called him Commodus or emperor; instead they referred to him as an accursed wretch and a tyrant, adding in jest such terms as "the gladiator," "the charioteer," "the left-handed," "the ruptured." To those senators on whom the fear of Commodus had rested most heavily, the crowd called out: "Huzza! Huzza! You are saved; you have won." Indeed, all the shouts that they had been accustomed to utter with a kind of rhythmic swing in the amphitheatres, by way of paying court to Commodus, they now chanted with

[a] εὖγε εὖγε Casaubon, ἄγε ἄγε VC.

4 ζοντες ἐς τὸ γελοιότατον ἐξῆδον. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀπηλλαγμένοι, τὸν δὲ οὐδέπω φοβούμενοι, τό τε διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ὡς ἐλεύθεροι ἐκαρποῦντο, καὶ ἀξίωμα παρρησίας ἐν τῷ ἀδεεῖ αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον· οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκει σφίσι τὸ μηκέτι φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θαρσοῦντι καὶ ἐξυβρίζειν ἤθελον.—Xiph. 282, 15—283, 29 R. St.

3 Ἦν δὲ ὁ Περτίναξ Λίγυς[1] ἐξ Ἄλβης Πομπηίας, πατρὸς οὐκ εὐγενοῦς, γράμματα ὅσον ἀποζῆν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἠσκημένος. καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ Πομπηιανῷ τῷ Κλαυδίῳ συνεγεγόνει, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν[2] ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι χιλιαρχήσας ἐς τοῦτο προεχώρησεν ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνου αὐτοῦ 2 αὐταρχῆσαι. καὶ ἔγωγε τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ Περτίνακος καὶ πρῶτον καὶ ἔσχατον ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τὸν Πομπηιανὸν εἶδον· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀγροῖς τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ τὸν Κόμμοδον διῆγε, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐλάχιστα κατέβαινε, τό τε γῆρας καὶ τὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νόσημα προβαλλόμενος, οὐδὲ ἔστιν ὅτε πρότερον ἐμοῦ παρόντος ἐς τὴν γερου-3 σίαν ἐσῆλθε. καὶ μέντοι καὶ μετὰ τὸν Περτίνακα πάλιν ἐνόσει· ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐκείνου καὶ ἔβλεπε καὶ ἔρρωτο[3] καὶ ἐβούλευε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Περτίναξ τά τε ἄλλα ἰσχυρῶς ἐτίμα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βάθρου ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρεκάθιζεν. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Γλαβρίωνα τὸν Ἀκίλιον ἐποίει· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος 4 τότε καὶ ἤκουεν καὶ ἔβλεπε. τούτους μὲν οὖν

[1] Λίγυς Xyl., λίβυς VC.
[2] δι' αὐτόν Bk., κατὰ τοῦτ' VC.
[3] ἔρρωτο Rk., ἑῶρα cod. Peir. (ἐπὶ γάρ — ἐβούλευε om. VC).

certain changes that made them utterly ridiculous. A.D. 193 For now that they had got rid of one ruler and as yet had nothing to fear from his successor, they were making the most of their freedom in the interval, and were gaining a reputation for boldness of speech in the security of the moment. For they were not satisfied merely to be relieved of further terror, but in their confidence they also wished to indulge in wanton insolence.

Pertinax was a Ligurian from Alba Pompeia; his father was not of noble birth, and he himself had received just enough education to enable him to gain a livelihood. This had brought him into association with Claudius Pompeianus, through whose influence he had become a tribune in the cavalry, and had reached such a height that he now was actually the emperor of his former patron. And it was at this time, under Pertinax, that I myself saw Pompeianus present in the senate for both the first and the last time. For he had been wont to spend most of his time in the country because of Commodus, and very rarely came down to the City, alleging his age and an ailment of the eyes as an excuse; and he had never before, when I was present, entered the senate. Furthermore, after the reign of Pertinax he was once more ailing; whereas under this emperor he had both his sight and good health, and used to take part in the deliberations of the senate. Pertinax showed him great honour in every way; and, in particular, he made him sit beside him on his bench in the senate. He also granted the same privilege to Acilius Glabrio; for this man, too, could both hear and see at that period. In addition to showing unusual honour to these men, he also

ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐτίμα, ἐχρῆτο δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν δημοτικώτατα· καὶ γὰρ εὐπροσήγορος ἦν, ἤκουέ τε ἑτοίμως ὅ τι τις ἀξιοίη, καὶ ἀπεκρίνετο ἀνθρωπίνως ὅσα αὐτῷ δοκοίη. εἱστία τε ἡμᾶς σωφρόνως· καὶ ὁπότε μὴ τοῦτο ποιοίη, διέπεμπεν ἄλλοις ἄλλα καὶ τὰ εὐτελέστατα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν πλούσιοι καὶ μεγάλαυχοι διεγέλων, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, οἷς ἀρετὴ ἀσελγείας προτιμοτέρα ἦν, ἐπῃνοῦμεν.—Xiph. 283, 29—284, 12 R. St., Exc. Val. 327 (p. 729).

2, 5 Ὅτι τοσοῦτον τὸ διάφορον τῆς περὶ Περτίνακος δόξης πρὸς τὸν Κόμμοδον πάντες εἶχον, ὥστε τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὰ γεγονότα[1] ὑποπτεύειν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἐπὶ πείρᾳ καθεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀρχόντων τοὺς ἀγγείλαντάς σφισιν αὐτὰ 6 καταδῆσαι, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελον ἀληθῆ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐφοβοῦντο δόξαι τὸν Κόμμοδον ἀπολωλέναι βεβουλῆσθαι[2] ἢ τῷ Περτίνακι μὴ προστίθεσθαι,[3] διότι τὸν μὲν καὶ ἁμαρτών τι τοιοῦτο πᾶς ἐθάρσει, τὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἀναμάρτητος ὤν.—Exc. Val. 328 (p. 729).

4 Ἔτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἐκείνην στάσιν ἣν ἔπαυσε, καὶ ἐπαίνων παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀξιουμένου, ἵππος τις ὄνομα Περτίναξ ἐνίκησεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ· ἦν δὲ τῶν πρασίων καὶ 2 ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου ἐσπουδάζετο. τῶν οὖν στασιωτῶν αὐτοῦ μέγα ἀναβοησάντων, καὶ εἰπόντων

[1] γεγονότα Val., γεγονότατα cod. Peir.

conducted himself in a very democratic manner toward us [senators]; for he was easy of access, listened readily to anyone's requests, and in answer gave his own opinion in a kindly way. Again, he used to give us banquets marked by moderation; and whenever he did not do this, he would send round various dishes, even the most inexpensive, to different ones of us. For this the wealthy and vain-glorious made great sport of him; but the rest of us, who valued virtue above licentiousness, approved his course.

A.D. 193

So different was the opinion of everybody regarding Pertinax as contrasted with Commodus, that when people heard what had happened, they suspected that the story of his assassination had been put forth by Commodus to test them, and in consequence many of the governors in the provinces imprisoned the men who brought the news. It was not that they did not wish the report to be true, but that they were more afraid of appearing to have desired the death of Commodus than they were of failing to attach themselves to Pertinax. For of the latter no one, even if he committed an error so serious as this, was afraid, but of the former, every one, even if innocent of wrong-doing.

While Pertinax was still in Britain, after that great revolt which he quelled, and was being accounted worthy of praise on all sides, a horse named Pertinax won a race at Rome. It belonged to the Greens and was favoured by Commodus. So, when its partisans raised a great shout, crying, "It

[2] βεβουλῆσθαι supplied by Bs.

[3] Περτίνακι μὴ προστίθεσθαι Val., Περτίναξι πρυτίθεσθαι cod. Peir.

αὐτὸ[1] τοῦτο, "Περτίναξ ἐστίν," οἱ ἕτεροι οἱ ἀντιστασιωταί[2] σφων, οἷά που ἀχθόμενοι τῷ Κομμόδῳ, προσεπεύξαντο, εἰπόντες οὐ πρὸς τὸν ἵππον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, "εἰ γὰρ ὤφειλεν
3 εἶναι." ὕστερον δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἵππον ἀπαλλαγέντα τε τῶν δρόμων ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ ὄντα μετεπέμψατο ὁ Κόμμοδος, καὶ ἐσήγαγεν ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον τάς τε ὁπλὰς αὐτοῦ καταχρυσώσας καὶ τὰ νῶτα[3] δέρματι ἐπιχρύσῳ κοσμήσας· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐξαπίνης
4 ἰδόντες ἀνεβόησαν αὖθις "Περτίναξ ἐστί." καὶ ἦν μέν που μαντικὸν αὐτὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸ τὸ λεχθέν, ἐπειδὴ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἱπποδρομίᾳ ἐγένετο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸ κράτος ἐς τὸν Περτίνακα περιῆλθεν· ἐλογοποιήθη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥοπάλου τὰ ὅμοια, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Περτίνακι αὐτὸ ὁ Κόμμοδος μονομαχήσειν τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ μέλλων ἔδωκεν.

5 Οὕτω μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Περτίναξ κατέστη, καὶ ἔλαβε τάς τε ἄλλας ἐπικλήσεις τὰς προσηκούσας καὶ ἑτέραν ἐπὶ τῷ δημοτικὸς εἶναι βούλεσθαι· πρόκριτος γὰρ τῆς γερουσίας κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπωνομάσθη. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς κόσμον, ὅσα πρὶν πλημμελῶς εἶχε καὶ ἀτάκτως, καθίστατο·
2 φιλανθρωπία τε γὰρ καὶ χρηστότης καὶ οἰκονομία βελτίστη καὶ πρόνοια τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐπιμελεστάτη περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα διεδείκνυτο. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἂν ἀγαθὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, ἔπραττεν ὁ Περτίναξ, καὶ τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἀφεῖλε τῶν ἀδίκως πεφονευμένων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπώμοσε
3 μηδέποτε τοιαύτην δίκην προσδέξεσθαι.[4] καὶ

[1] αὐτό Reim., αὐτῷ VC.

is Pertinax!" the others, their opponents, in disgust A.D. 193 at Commodus, likewise prayed,—with reference to the man rather than to the horse,—"Would that it were so!" Later, when this same horse had left the race-track because of age and was in the country, it was sent for by Commodus, who brought it into the Circus after gilding its hoofs and adorning its back with a gilded skin. And the people, suddenly seeing it, cried out again: "It is Pertinax!" This very expression was doubtless an omen in itself, occurring, as it did, at the last horse-race that year; and immediately afterward the throne passed to Pertinax. Similar views were expressed also concerning the incident of the club; for Commodus when about to contend on the final day had given it to Pertinax.

It was in this manner that Pertinax came into power. And he obtained all the customary titles pertaining to the office, and also a new one to indicate his wish to be democratic; for he was styled Chief of the Senate in accordance with the ancient practice. He at once reduced to order everything that had previously been irregular and confused; for he showed not only humaneness and integrity in the imperial administration, but also the most economical management and the most careful consideration for the public welfare. Besides doing everything else that a good emperor should do, he removed the stigma attaching to those who had been unjustly put to death, and he furthermore took oath that he would never sanction such a penalty. And immediately some bewailed

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[2] *ἀντιστασιωταί* Dind., *ἀντιστασιασταί* VC.
[3] *νῶτα* Salmasius, *ἀνώτατα* VC.
[4] *προσδέξεσθαι* R. Steph., *πρυσδέξασθαι* VC.

αὐτίκα οἱ μὲν τοὺς συγγενεῖς οἱ δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἀνεκάλουν μετὰ δακρύων ὁμοῦ καὶ χαρᾶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο πρὶν ἐξῆν ποιεῖν· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνορύττοντες τὰ σώματα, οἱ μὲν ὁλόκληρα οἱ δὲ μέρη, ὥς που ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἢ τοῦ ὀλέθρου ἢ τοῦ χρόνου εἶχεν, εὐθέτουν καὶ ἐς τὰ προγονικὰ μνημεῖα ἀπετίθεντο.

4 Τοσαύτη *δ' ἄρα τότε τὸ βασίλειον εἶχεν ἀχρηματία ὥστε πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες δραχμῶν μόναι εὑρέθησαν. χαλεπῶς δ' οὖν ὁ* Περτίναξ *ἔκ τε τῶν εἰκόνων καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τῶν τε ἵππων καὶ ἐπίπλων καὶ τῶν παιδικῶν τῶν τοῦ* Κομμόδου *ἀγείρας ἀργύριον, τοῖς τε δορυφόροις ἔδωκεν ὅσα ὑπέσχητο,*[1] *καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*
5 *καθ' ἑκατὸν*[2] *δραχμάς. σύμπαντα γὰρ ὅσα ὁ* Κόμμοδος *ἐπί τε τῇ τρυφῇ καὶ ἐς ὁπλομαχίαν ἢ καὶ ἐς ἁρματηλασίαν ἐκέκτητο, ἐς τὸ πωλητήριον ἐξετέθη, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον πράσεως ἕνεκα, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τῶν τε ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν διαιτημάτων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐς ἔλεγχον τῶν ὠνησομένων αὐτά.*—Xiph. 284, 12—285, 19 R. St.

6 Ὁ *δὲ* Λαῖτος *τὸν* Περτίνακα *δι' εὐφημίας ἦγε καὶ τὸν* Κόμμοδον *ὕβριζε.*[3] *βαρβάρους γοῦν τινὰς χρυσίον παρ' αὐτοῦ πολὺ ἐπ' εἰρήνῃ εἰληφότας μεταπεμψάμενος (ἔτι γὰρ ἐν ὁδῷ ἦσαν) ἀπήτησεν αὐτό, εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅτι "λέγετε τοῖς οἴκοι* Περτίνακα *ἄρχειν·" ἤδεσαν γὰρ καὶ πάνυ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐξ ὧν ἐπεπόνθεσαν ὅτε*

[1] *ὑπέσχητο* Bk., *ὑπέσχετο* VC Zon.
[2] *ἑκατὸν* Zon., *ἕκαστον* VC.

their relatives and others their friends with mingled tears and joy, even these exhibitions of emotion not having been permitted formerly. After this they exhumed the bodies, some of which were found intact and some in fragments, according to the manner of death or the lapse of time in each case; and after duly arranging them, they deposited them in their ancestral tombs. A.D. 193

At this time, then, there was such a dearth of funds in the imperial treasury that only a million sesterces could be found. Pertinax therefore raised money as best he could from the statues, the arms, the horses, the furniture, and the favourites of Commodus, and gave to the Pretorians all that he had promised and to the populace a hundred denarii per man. Indeed, all the articles that Commodus had collected, whether as luxuries or for gladiatorial combats or for chariot-driving, were exposed in the auction-room, primarily, of course, to be sold, yet with the further purpose of showing up the late emperor's deeds and practices, and also of finding out who their purchasers would be.

Laetus kept speaking well of Pertinax and abusing Commodus.[1] For instance, he sent after some barbarians who had received a large sum of gold from Commodus for making peace (they were still on their way), and demanded its return, telling them to inform their people at home that Pertinax was ruler; for the barbarians knew his name only too well because of the reverses they had suffered

[1] Cf. Exc. Val.: "Laetus kept showing up all the evil deeds of Commodus."

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[3] Cf. Exc. Val. 329 (p. 730): ὅτι ὁ Λαῖτος [ὁ ὕπατος] ὅσα κακῶς ἐποίησεν ὁ Κόμμοδος ἐξήλεγχεν.

2 μετὰ τοῦ Μάρκου ἐστρατεύετο.[1] καὶ ἕτερον δέ τι τοιόνδε ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Κομμόδου διαβολῇ ὁμοίως ἔπραξε. κοπρίας τινὰς καὶ γελωτοποιοὺς αἴσχιστα μὲν τὰ εἴδη αἰσχίω δὲ τά τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἔχοντας καὶ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν τήν τε ἀσέλγειαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμόδου ὑπερπλουτοῦντας εὑρών, ἐδημοσίευσε τάς τε προσηγορίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὧν ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς γέλως, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ὀργή τε καὶ λύπη· τοσαῦτα γάρ τινες αὐτῶν ἔχοντες ἦσαν ἐφ' ὅσοις
3 ἐκεῖνος πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐσφάκει. οὐ μέντοι γε καὶ δι' ὅλου ὁ Λαῖτος πιστὸς ἔμεινε τῷ Περτίνακι, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἐν ἀκαρεῖ· ὧν γὰρ ἤθελε μὴ τυγχάνων προσπαρώξυνε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς λελέξεται, κατ' αὐτοῦ.—Xiph. 285, 19—286, 3 R. St., Exc. Val. 329, 330.

7 Τὸν μὲν οὖν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ[2] ὁ Περτίναξ τὸν Σουλπικιανὸν τὸν Φλάουιον[3] πολιαρχεῖν ἔταξε, καὶ ἄλλως ἄξιον ὄντα τούτου τυχεῖν· οὔτε δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα Αὔγουσταν οὔτε τὸν υἱὸν Καίσαρα, καίπερ ψηφισαμένων ἡμῶν, ποιῆσαι ἠθέλησεν,
2 ἀλλ' ἑκάτερον ἰσχυρῶς διεκρούσατο, εἴτ' οὖν ὅτι μηδέπω τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐρριζώκει, εἴτε καὶ ὅτι ἐκείνην τε ἀκολασταίνουσαν οὐκ ἠβουλήθη τὸ τῆς Αὐγούστης ὄνομα μιᾶναι, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν παιδίον ἔτι ὄντα οὐκ ἠθέλησε, πρὶν παιδευθῆναι, τῷ τε ὄγκῳ[4] καὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος δια-
3 φθαρῆναι. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ αὐτὸν ἔτρεφεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ[5] πρότερον ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ εὐθὺς ἡμέρᾳ ἀποθέμενος,

[1] ἐστρατεύετο R. Steph., ἐστράτευτο VC cod. Peir.
[2] αὑτοῦ Reim., αὐτοῦ VC.

when he made a campaign against them with Marcus. A.D. 193 And here is another similar act of his intended to discredit Commodus. Discovering that some filthy clowns and buffoons, disgusting in appearance and with still more disgusting nicknames and habits, had been made extremely wealthy by Commodus on account of their wantonness and licentiousness, he made public their nicknames and the sums they had received. The former caused laughter and the latter wrath and grief, for there were some of them that possessed amounts such as Commodus had actually slain many senators to obtain. Laetus, however, did not remain permanently loyal to Pertinax, or, I might better say, he was never faithful even for a moment; for when he did not get what he wanted, he proceeded to incite the soldiers against him, as will be related.

Pertinax appointed as prefect of the city his father-in-law, Flavius Sulpicianus, a man in every way worthy of the office. Yet he was unwilling to make his wife Augusta or his son Caesar, though we granted him permission. In fact, he emphatically rejected both proposals, either because he had not yet firmly rooted his own power or because he did not choose either to let his unchaste consort sully the name of Augusta or to permit his son, who was still a boy, to be spoiled by the glamour and the prospects involved in the title of Caesar before he had received his education. Indeed, he would not even bring him up in the palace, but on the very first day he set aside everything that had belonged

[3] *Φλάουιον* Casaubon, *φλάκον* VC.
[4] *ὄγκῳ* Reim., *ὅρκω* VC.
[5] *αὑτῷ* Bk., *αὐτῶ* VC.

ταῦτά τε τοῖς τέκνοις διένειμε (καὶ γὰρ καὶ θυγατέρα εἶχε) καὶ παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ διαιτᾶσθαι αὐτὰ ἐκέλευσεν, ὀλίγα ἄττα αὐτοῖς, ὡς πατὴρ καὶ οὐχ ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ, συγγινόμενος.—Xiph. 286, 3–15 R. St.

8 Ἐπεὶ οὖν οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἁρπάζειν οὔτε τοῖς Καισαρείοις ἀσελγαίνειν ἔτι ἐξῆν, δεινῶς οὗτοι ἐμίσουν αὐτόν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Καισάρειοι οὐδέν, ἅτε καὶ ἄοπλοι[1] ὄντες, ἐνεωτέρισαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται οἱ δορυφόροι καὶ ὁ 2 Λαῖτος ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὸν ὕπατον Φάλκωνα, ὅτι καὶ γένει καὶ χρήμασιν ἤκμαζεν, αὐτοκράτορα[2] ἐπιλέγονται, καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν ἐσάξειν, τοῦ Περτίνακος ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὴν τοῦ σίτου παρασκευὴν ἐξε- 3 τάζοντος, ἤμελλον. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνος σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθε, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἔφη· "οὐ χρὴ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ὦ πατέρες, ὅτι πέντε που καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας δραχμῶν εὑρὼν τοσοῦτον τοῖς στρατιώταις διένειμα ὅσον[3] Μᾶρκός τε καὶ Λούκιος, οἷς ἑξακισμύριαι καὶ ἑπτακισχίλιαι καὶ πεντακόσιαι 4 μυριάδες κατελείφθησαν. ἀλλ' αἴτιοι τῆς ἀχρηματίας ταύτης οἱ θαυμαστοὶ Καισάρειοι γεγόνασι." καὶ ἐψεύσατο μὲν ὁ Περτίναξ ὅτι ἐπ' ἴσης τῷ Λουκίῳ καὶ τῷ Μάρκῳ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδωρήσατο (οἱ[4] μὲν γὰρ ἐς πεντακισχιλίας ὁ δὲ ἐς τρισχιλίας αὐτοῖς ἐδεδώκει), οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ Καισάρειοι παρόντες ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ (πάμπολλοι δὲ ἦσαν) δεινῶς ἠγανάκ- 5 τησαν καὶ φοβερόν τι διετονθόρυσαν. μελ-

[1] ἄοπλοι Blancus (in vers.), ἅπλοι V, ἁπλοῖ C.

to himself previously and divided it between his children (he had also a daughter), and ordered that they should live with their grandfather; there he visited them occasionally, but rather as their father than as emperor. A.D. 193

Since, now, neither the soldiers were allowed to plunder any longer nor the imperial freedmen to indulge in lewdness, they both hated him bitterly. The freedmen, for their part, attempted no revolt, being unarmed; but the Pretorian troops and Laetus formed a plot against him. At first they selected Falco, the consul, for emperor, because he was distinguished for both his family and wealth, and they were planning to bring him to the camp while Pertinax was at the coast investigating the corn supply. But the emperor, learning of the plan, returned in haste to the city, and coming before the senate, said: "You should not be left in ignorance of the fact, Fathers, that although I found on hand only a million sesterces, yet I have distributed as much to the soldiers as did Marcus and Lucius, to whom were left twenty-seven hundred millions. It is these wonderful freedmen who are to blame for this shortage of funds." Now Pertinax was not telling the truth when he claimed to have bestowed upon the soldiers as much as Lucius and Marcus, inasmuch as they had given them about twenty thousand, and he only about twelve thousand, sesterces apiece; and the soldiers and the freedmen who were present in the senate in very large numbers became highly indignant and muttered

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[2] αὐτοκράτορα St., εἰς αὐτοκράτορα VC.
[3] ὅσον Leuncl., ὥστε VC.
[4] οἱ Naber, ὁ VC.

λόντων δὲ ἡμῶν καταψηφιεῖσθαι τοῦ Φάλκωνος, καὶ ἤδη γε αὐτὸν πολέμιον ὀνομαζόντων, ἀναστὰς ὁ Περτίναξ καὶ ἀνακραγών "μὴ γένοιτο" ἔφη "μηδένα βουλευτὴν ἐμοῦ ἄρχοντος μηδὲ δικαίως θανατωθῆναι." καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐσώθη, καὶ[1] εὐλαβηθεὶς καὶ αἰδεσθεὶς τὸν λειπόμενον χρόνον ἐν ἀγρῷ διῆγεν.

9 Ὁ δὲ Λαῖτος παραλαβὼν τὴν κατὰ τὸν Φάλκωνα ἀφορμήν, πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου κελεύοντος διέφθειρεν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τοῦτο αἰσθόμενοι, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ 2 αὐτοὶ προσαπόλωνται, ἐθορύβησαν· διακόσιοι δὲ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θρασύτεροι καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον τὰ ξίφη ἀνατετακότες ὥρμησαν. οὐδὲ ἔγνω πρότερον προσιόντας ὁ Περτίναξ αὐτοὺς πρὶν ἄνω γενέσθαι· τότε δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐσδραμοῦσα 3 ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸ γενόμενον. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνος πρᾶγμα εἴτ' οὖν γενναῖον εἴτε ἀνόητον, εἴθ' ὅπως τις αὐτὸ[2] ὀνομάσαι ἐθέλει, ἔπραξε. δυνηθεὶς γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἐπελθόντας (τῇ τε γὰρ νυκτερινῇ φυλακῇ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ὥπλιστο, καὶ ἦσαν καὶ ἄλλοι ἐν 4 τῷ παλατίῳ τότε ἄνθρωποι πολλοί), εἰ δὲ μή, κατακρυφθῆναί γε καὶ διαφυγεῖν ποι τάς τε πύλας τοῦ παλατίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς διὰ μέσου θύρας κλείσας, τούτων μὲν οὐδέτερον ἐποίησεν, ἐλπίσας δὲ καταπλήξειν αὐτοὺς ὀφθεὶς καὶ πείσειν ἀκουσθεὶς ἀπήντησε τοῖς προσιοῦσιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἤδη οὖσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τῶν συστρατιωτῶν τις αὐτοὺς εἶρξε, καὶ οἱ πυλωροὶ οἵ τε

[1] καί supplied by Bs.; (ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος) εὐλαβηθεὶς . . . διῆγεν Petr. Patr., om. VC cod. Peir.

ominously. But as we were about to condemn Falco A.D. 193 and were already declaring him a public enemy, Pertinax rose and exclaimed: "Heaven forbid that any senator should be put to death while I am ruler, even for just cause." Thus was Falco's life spared, and thenceforth he lived in the country, preserving a cautious and respectful demeanour.

But Laetus, seizing upon the case of Falco as a handle, proceeded to put out of the way many of the soldiers, pretending that it was by the emperor's orders. The others, when they became aware of it, feared that they, too, should perish, and made a disturbance; but two hundred, bolder than their fellows, actually invaded the palace with drawn swords. Pertinax had no warning of their approach until they were already up on the hill; then his wife rushed in and informed him of what had happened. On learning this he behaved in a manner that one will call noble, or senseless, or whatever one pleases. For, even though he could in all probability have killed his assailants,—as he had the night-guard and the cavalry at hand to protect him, and as there were also many other people in the palace at the time,—or might at least have concealed himself and made his escape to some place or other, by closing the gates of the palace and the other intervening doors, he nevertheless adopted neither of these courses. Instead, hoping to overawe them by his appearance and to win them over by his words, he went to meet the approaching band, which was already inside the palace; for no one of their fellow-soldiers had barred the way, and the porters and other freedmen, so far

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[2] αὐτό H. Steph., αὐτόν VC.

ἄλλοι Καισάρειοι οὐχ ὅτι τι συνέκλεισαν, ἀλλὰ
10 καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς προσανέῳξαν. ἰδόντες δ' οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ᾐδέσθησαν, πλὴν ἑνός, καὶ τούς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς[1] ἐς τὸ δάπεδον ἤρεισαν[2] καὶ τὰ ξίφη ἐς τοὺς κουλεοὺς ἐναπέθεντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος προπηδήσας εἶπέ τε ὅτι "τοῦτό σοι τὸ ξίφος οἱ στρατιῶται πεπόμφασι," καὶ προσπεσὼν εὐθὺς ἔπληξεν αὐτόν, οὐκ ἐπέσχον ἀλλὰ τόν τε αὐτοκράτορά σφων κατέκοψαν
2 καὶ τὸν Ἔκλεκτον. μόνος γὰρ δὴ οὗτος οὔτ' ἐγκατέλιπεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπήμυνεν αὐτῷ ὅσον ἠδυνήθη, ὥστε καὶ τρῶσαί τινας· ὅθεν ἐγὼ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἄνδρα αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι νομίζων, τότε δὴ καὶ πάνυ ἐθαύμασα. ἀποτεμόντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Περτίνακος περί τε[3] δόρυ περιέπειραν, τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλλαμπρυνόμενοι.
3 οὕτω μὲν ὁ Περτίναξ ἐπιχειρήσας ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδὲ ἔγνω καίπερ ἐμπειρότατος πραγμάτων ὤν, ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἀθρόα τινὰ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, ἀλλ' εἴπερ τι ἄλλο, καὶ πολιτικὴ κατάστασις καὶ χρόνου καὶ σοφίας χρῄζει. ἐβίω[4] δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑξήκοντα τεσσάρων μηνῶν καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν δέοντα, ἦρξε δὲ ἡμέρας ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑπτά.—Xiph. 286, 15—288, 4 R. St., Exc. Val. 331, Exc. Vat. 126.

11 Διαγγελλομένου δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Περτίνακα πάθους οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἔτρεχον οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλείας πρόνοιαν ἐποιοῦντο. Σουλπικιανὸς δέ (ἔτυχε γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Περτίνακος ἀποσταλεὶς ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἵνα τὰ ἐκεῖ καταστήσηται) ἔμεινέ

from making any door fast, had actually opened absolutely all the entrances. The soldiers on seeing him were at first abashed, all save one, and kept their eyes on the ground, and they thrust their swords back into their scabbards; but that one man leaped forward, exclaiming, "The soldiers have sent you this sword," and forthwith fell upon him and wounded him. Then his comrades no longer held back, but struck down their emperor together with Eclectus. The latter alone had not deserted him, but defended him as best he could, even wounding several of his assailants; hence I, who felt that even before that he had shown himself an excellent man, now thoroughly admired him. The soldiers cut off the head of Pertinax and fastened it on a spear, glorying in the deed. Thus did Pertinax, who undertook to restore everything in a moment, come to his end. He failed to comprehend, though a man of wide practical experience, that one cannot with safety reform everything at once, and that the restoration of a state, in particular, requires both time and wisdom. He had lived sixty-seven years, lacking four months and three days, and had reigned eighty-seven days.

A.D. 193

When the fate of Pertinax was noised about, some ran to their homes and others to those of the soldiers, all taking thought for their own safety. But Sulpicianus, who had been sent by Pertinax to the camp to set matters in order there, remained

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[1] *καὶ τούς τε ὀφθαλμούς* Rk., *τούς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς καί* VC.

[2] *ἤρεισαν* Sylb., *ἔρεισαν* VC.

[3] Leuncl. proposed to read *τό* for *τε*, but Sylburg supplied *καὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως περιήνεγκαν* after *περιέπειραν*; cf. Zon.: *δόρατι περιπείραντες περιῆγον.*

[4] *ἐβίω* Zon., *ἐπεβίω* VC.

τε ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔπραττεν ὅπως ἂν αὐτοκράτωρ
2 ἀποδειχθῇ. κἀν τούτῳ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ Δίδιος,[1]
χρηματιστής τε ἄπληστος καὶ ἀναλωτὴς ἀσελγής, νεωτέρων τε ἀεὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμῶν, διὸ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Κομμόδου ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα τὸ Μεδιόλανον ἐξελήλατο—οὗτος οὖν ἀκούσας τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Περτίνακος σπουδῇ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον παρεγένετο, καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ τείχους ἑστὼς παρεκάλει τοὺς στρατιώτας
3 ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας. ὅτε δὴ καὶ πρᾶγμα αἴσχιστόν τε καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς Ῥώμης ἐγένετο· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν πωλητηρίῳ τινὶ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῆς πᾶσα ἀπεκηρύχθη. καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπίπρασκον μὲν οἱ τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σφων ἀπεκτονότες, ὠνητίων δὲ ὅ τε Σουλπικιανὸς καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ὑπερβάλλοντες
4 ἀλλήλους, ὁ μὲν ἔνδοθεν ὁ δὲ ἔξωθεν. καὶ μέχρι γε πεντακισχιλίων δραχμῶν κατ᾽ ἄνδρα κατὰ βραχὺ προστιθέντες προῆλθον, διαγγελλόντων τινῶν καὶ λεγόντων τῷ τε Ἰουλιανῷ[2] ὅτι "Σουλπικιανὸς[3] τοσοῦτον δίδωσι· τί οὖν σὺ προστίθης;" καὶ τῷ Σουλπικιανῷ ὅτι "Ἰουλιανὸς τοσοῦτον ἐπαγγέλλεται· τί οὖν σὺ προσυπισχνῇ;"
5 κἂν ἐπεκράτησεν ὁ Σουλπικιανὸς ἔνδον τε ὢν καὶ πολιαρχῶν, τάς τε πεντακισχιλίας[4] πρότερος ὀνομάσας, εἰ μὴ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς οὐκέτι κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ἀλλὰ χιλίαις καὶ διακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα ἅμα δραχμαῖς ὑπερέβαλε, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ

[1] Cf. Exc. Val. 332: ὅτι ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ Δίδιος ἦν τὸ μὲν γένος βουλευτικὸν τὸν δὲ τρόπον δεινὸν ἔχων· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμητὴς ἄπληστος καὶ ἀναλωτὴς ἀσελγὴς ἐγένετο, ὅθεν που (τοῦ cod.) νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἀεὶ ἐπεθύμει.

on the spot, and intrigued to get himself appointed emperor. Meanwhile Didius Julianus,[1] at once an insatiate money-getter and a wanton spendthrift, who was always eager for revolution and hence had been exiled by Commodus to his native city of Mediolanum, now, when he heard of the death of Pertinax, hastily made his way to the camp, and, standing at the gates of the enclosure, made bids to the soldiers for the rule over the Romans. Then ensued a most disgraceful business and one unworthy of Rome. For, just as if it had been in some market or auction-room, both the City and its entire empire were auctioned off. The sellers were the ones who had slain their emperor, and the would-be buyers were Sulpicianus and Julianus, who vied to outbid each other, one from the inside, the other from the outside. They gradually raised their bids up to twenty thousand sesterces per soldier. Some of the soldiers would carry word to Julianus, "Sulpicianus offers so much; how much more do you make it?" And to Sulpicianus in turn, "Julianus promises so much; how much do you raise him?" Sulpicianus would have won the day, being inside and being prefect of the city and also the first to name the figure twenty thousand, had not Julianus raised his bid no longer by a small amount but by five thousand at one time, both shouting it in a loud voice and also indicating

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[1] Cf. Exc. Val.: "Didius Julianus was of senatorial rank but of remarkable character; among other things, he was insatiate in his greed for money and a wanton spendthrift, in consequence of which, doubtless, he was always eager for revolution."

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[2] τῷ τε Ἰουλιανῷ Xyl., ὅτι τε ἰουλιανός VC.
[3] Σουλπικιανός R. Steph., σουλπίκιος VC.
[4] πεντακισχιλίας Sylb., πεντακισχιλίους VC.

6 μέγα βοῶν καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐνδεικνύμενος. τῇ τε γὰρ ὑπερβολῇ αὐτοῦ δουλωθέντες, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὸν Σουλπικιανὸν ὡς καὶ τιμωρήσοντα τῷ Περτίνακι φοβηθέντες, ὅπερ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεινεν, ἐσεδέξαντό τε αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἀπέδειξαν.—Xiph. 288, 13—289, 12 R. St., Exc. Val. 332 (p. 730).

12 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ πρὸς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἠπείχθη, παμπληθεῖς δορυφόρους μετὰ σημείων συχνῶν ὥσπερ ἐς παράταξίν[1] τινα ἄγων, ἵνα καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν δῆμον προκαταπλήξας πρόσθηται· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται τά τε ἄλλα ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ Κόμμοδον 2 ἐπωνόμαζον. ἡμεῖς δὲ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ὥς που ἑκάστῳ διηγγέλλετο, ἐφοβούμεθα μὲν τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι τι ἢ πρὸς τὸν Περτίνακα ἐπιτήδειον . . .[2] (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦν, ἐπειδὴ ὑπό τε τοῦ Περτίνακος τά τε ἄλλα ἐτετιμήμην[3] καὶ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδεδείγμην, καὶ ἐκεῖνον πολλὰ πολλάκις ἐν δίκαις συναγορεύων τισὶν ἀδικοῦντα 3 ἐπεδεδείχειν)· ὅμως δ' οὖν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα (οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι οἴκοι, μὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτου ὑποπτευθῶμεν, καταμεῖναι) προήλθομεν, οὐχ ὅτι λελουμένοι[4] ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδειπνηκότες, καὶ ὠσάμενοι διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὸ 4 βουλευτήριον ἐσήλθομεν, καὶ ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ τά τε ἄλλα ἀξίως ἑαυτοῦ λέγοντος, καὶ ὅτι "ὑμᾶς τε ὁρῶ ἄρχοντος δεομένους, καὶ αὐτός, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος, ἀξιώτατός εἰμι ὑμῶν ἡγεμονεῦσαι.

[1] παράταξίν Irmisch, πρᾶξιν VC.
[2] Lacuna recognized by Bk., who supplied ἢ πρὸς τὸν

the amount with his fingers. So the soldiers, captivated by this excessive bid and at the same time fearing that Sulpicianus might avenge Pertinax (an idea that Julianus put into their heads), received Julianus inside and declared him emperor. A.D. 193

So toward evening the new ruler hastened to the Forum and the senate-house. He was escorted by a vast number of Pretorians with numerous standards, as if prepared for action, his object being to intimidate both us and the populace at the outset and thereby to secure our allegiance; and the soldiers were calling him "Commodus" and extolling him in various other ways. As for us [senators], when the news was brought to each of us individually and we ascertained the truth, we were possessed by fear of Julianus and the soldiers, especially all of us who had [done] any favours for Pertinax [or anything to displease Julianus]. I was one of these, for I had received various honours from Pertinax, including the praetorship, and when acting as advocate for others at trials I had frequently proved Julianus to be guilty of many offences. Nevertheless, we made our appearance, partly for this very reason, since it did not seem to us to be safe to remain at home, for fear such a course might in itself arouse suspicion. So when bath and dinner were over we pushed our way through the soldiers, entered the senate-house, and heard him deliver a speech that was quite worthy of him, in the course of which he said: "I see that you need a ruler, and I myself am best fitted of any to

Ἰουλιανὸν ἐπαχθὲς ἐγεγένητο (reading ὅσοις for ὅσοι above). Bs. suggests ἐπεπράχειμεν for ἐγεγένητο, retaining ὅσοι.

[3] ἐτετιμήμην Sylb., ἐτετιμήκειν VC.

[4] λελουμένοι Rk., δεδουλωμένοι VC.

καὶ εἶπον ἂν πάντα τὰ προσόντα μοι ἀγαθά, εἰ μὴ καὶ ᾔδειτε καὶ πεπειραμένοι μου ἦτε. διὸ οὐδὲ ἐδεήθην πολλοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπάγεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μόνος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφῖγμαι, ἵνα μοι
5 τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων δοθέντα ἐπικυρώσητε." "μόνος" τε "γὰρ ἥκω" ἔλεγε, πᾶν μὲν ἔξωθεν τὸ βουλευτήριον ὁπλίταις περιεστοιχισμένος, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ συνεδρίῳ στρατιώτας ἔχων, καὶ τοῦ συνειδότος ἡμᾶς τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεμίμνησκεν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἐμισοῦμεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐφοβούμεθα.

13 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τὴν αὐταρχίαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν τῆς βουλῆς δογμάτων[1] βεβαιωσάμενος ἀνῆλθεν ἐς τὸ παλάτιον, καὶ εὑρὼν τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ τῷ Περτίνακι παρεσκευασμένον πολλά τε αὐτοῦ κατεγέλασε, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος ὅθεν τι καὶ ὁπωσοῦν εὑρεθῆναι τότε ἠδυνήθη πολυτίμητον, διεπίμπλατο ἔνδον ἔτι τοῦ νεκροῦ κειμένου, καὶ ἐκύβευεν, ἄλλους τε καὶ Πυλάδην τὸν ὀρχηστὴν
2 παραλαβών. τῇ δὲ δὴ ὑστεραίᾳ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀνῄειμεν ὡς αὐτόν, πλαττόμενοι τρόπον τινὰ καὶ σχηματιζόμενοι ὅπως μὴ κατάφωροι ἐπὶ τῇ λύπῃ γενώμεθα· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐσκυθρώπαζε φανερῶς, καὶ διελάλουν ὅσα ἤθελον, καὶ παρε-
3 σκευάζοντο πρᾶξαι ὅσα ἐδύναντο.[2] καὶ τέλος, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον ἦλθε καὶ τῷ Ἰανῷ τῷ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν αὐτοῦ θύσειν ἔμελλεν, ἐξέκραγον πάντες ὥσπερ ἐκ συγκειμένου τινός, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἅρπαγα αὐτὸν καὶ πατροφόνον ὀνομάζοντες. ὡς δὲ προσποιησάμενος μὴ χαλεπαίνειν ἀργύριόν

[1] δογμάτων Leuncl.; πραγμάτων VC.
[2] ἐδύναντο Bk., ἠδύναντο VC.

rule you. I should mention all the advantages I can offer, if you were not already familiar with them and had not already had experience of me. Consequently I have not even asked to be attended here by many soldiers, but have come to you alone, in order that you may ratify what has been given to me by them." "I am here alone" is what he said, though he had actually surrounded the entire senate-house outside with heavy-armed troops and had a large number of soldiers in the chamber itself; moreover he reminded us of our knowledge of the kind of man he was, in consequence of which we both feared and hated him. A.D. 193

Having thus secured confirmation of the imperial power by decrees of the senate also, he proceeded up to the palace. And finding the dinner that had been prepared for Pertinax, he made great fun of it, and sending out to every place from which by any means whatever something expensive could be procured at that time of night, he proceeded to gorge himself, while the corpse was still lying in the building, and then to play at dice. Among others that he took along with him was Pylades, the pantomime. The next day we went up to pay our respects to him, moulding our faces, so to speak, and posturing, so that our grief should not be detected. The populace, however, went about openly with sullen looks, spoke its mind as much as it pleased, and was getting ready to do anything it could. Finally, when he came to the senate-house and was about to sacrifice to Janus before the entrance, all fell to shouting, as if by preconcerted arrangement, calling him stealer of the empire and parricide. Then, when he affected not to be angry and promised them

τι αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχετο, ἀγανακτήσαντες ὡς καὶ δεκαζόμενοι ἀνεβόησαν ἅμα πάντες "οὐ θέλομεν, 4 οὐ λαμβάνομεν." καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ πέριξ οἰκοδομήματα φρικῶδές τι συνεπήχησεν.[1] ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς οὐκέτ' ἐκαρτέρησεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐγγὺς προσεστηκότας κτείνεσθαι προσέταξε. καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιπαρωξύνθη, καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο οὔτε τὸν Περτίνακα ποθῶν οὔτε τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν λοιδορῶν οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβοώμενος οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπαρώμενος, ἀλλὰ καίτοι πολλοὶ[2] πολλαχοῦ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τιτρωσκόμενοι καὶ φονευόμενοι ἀντεῖχον. 5 καὶ τέλος ὅπλα ἁρπάσαντες συνέδραμον ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον, κἀνταῦθα διετέλεσαν τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄποτοι βοῶντες, τούς τε λοιποὺς στρατιώτας καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Νίγρον τὸν Πεσκέννιον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ὄντας ἐπαμῦναί σφισι δεόμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῇ τε κραυγῇ καὶ τῷ λιμῷ τῇ τε ἀγρυπνίᾳ κακωθέντες διελύθησαν καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, τὰς ἔξωθεν ἐλπίδας ἀναμένοντες.—Xiph. 289, 12—290, 32 R. St.

5ª "οὐ βοηθῶ τῷ δήμῳ· οὐ γάρ με ἐπεβοήσατο."—Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 142, 14.

14 Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ οὕτω τὴν ἀρχὴν ἁρπάσας ἀνελευθέρως[3] τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐχρῆτο, θωπεύων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τούς τι δυναμένους καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπαγγελλόμενος τὰ δὲ χαριζόμενος, προσεγέλα τε καὶ προσέπαιζε πρὸς τοὺς τυχόντας, ἔς τε τὰ

[1] συνεπήχησεν Bk., συνεπήχησαν VC.
[2] πολλοί Bk., πολλοὶ καί VC.

some money, they became indignant at the implication that they could be bribed, and all cried out together: "We don't want it! We won't take it!" And the surrounding buildings echoed back their shout in a way to make one shudder. When Julianus heard their reply, he could endure it no longer, but ordered those standing nearest to be slain. That exasperated the populace all the more, and it did not cease expressing its regret for Pertinax and abusing Julianus, invoking the gods and cursing the soldiers; but though many were wounded and killed in many parts of the city, they continued to resist. Finally they seized arms and rushed together into the Circus, and there spent the night and the following day without food or drink, shouting and calling upon the remainder of the soldiers, especially Pescennius Niger and his followers in Syria, to come to their aid. Later, exhausted by their shouting, by their fasting, and by their loss of sleep, they separated and kept quiet, awaiting the hoped-for deliverance from abroad.

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"I do not assist the populace, for it has not called upon me."[1]

After seizing the power in this manner Julianus managed affairs in a servile fashion, paying court to the senate as well as to all the men of any influence; now he would make promises, now bestow favours, and he laughed and jested with anybody and everybody.

[1] The pertinence of these words is uncertain; von Gutschmid would assign them to a speech of Julianus. The grammarian has just quoted a part of ch. 13, 4 ("from Book lxxiv"), and then cites these words as occurring a little farther along.

[3] ἀνελευθέρως Zon., ἀνελευθέροις VC.

θέατρα συνεχῶς ἐσεφοίτα, καὶ συμπόσια πολλὰ
2 συνεκρότει, τό τε σύμπαν οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐπὶ θεραπείᾳ ἡμῶν ἐποίει. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιθανὸς ἦν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀκράτῳ τῇ θωπείᾳ χρώμενος ὑπωπτεύετο· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ εἰκότος, κἂν χαρίζεσθαί τισι δοκῇ, δολερὸν τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι νομίζεται.—Xiph. 290, 32—291, 8 R. St.

2[a] Ψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα αὐτοῦ οὐ προσεδέξατο, εἰπὼν ὅτι "χαλκοῦν μοι δότε, ἵνα καὶ μείνῃ· καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων τοὺς μὲν χρυσοῦς καὶ ἀργυροῦς ὁρῶ καθαιρεθέντας, τοὺς δὲ χαλκοῦς μένοντας," οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῦτο εἰπών· ἀρετὴ γὰρ ἡ διαφυλάττουσα τὴν μνήμην τῶν κρατούντων· ὁ γὰρ δοθεὶς αὐτῷ χαλκοῦς ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτοῦ καθῃρέθη. —Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 128 (p. 226 Mai. = p. 209, 24–32 Dind.).

3 Ἐν μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔξω ταύτης γενομένων καὶ νεωτερισθέντων ἤδη ἐρῶ. τρεῖς γὰρ δὴ τότε ἄνδρες, τριῶν ἕκαστος πολιτικῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ ἄλλων ξενικῶν συχνῶν ἄρχοντες, ἀντελάβοντο τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅ τε Σεουῆρος καὶ ὁ Νίγρος καὶ ὁ Ἀλβῖνος, οὗτος μὲν τῆς Βρεττανίας ἄρχων,
4 Σεουῆρος δὲ τῆς Παννονίας, Νίγρος δὲ τῆς Συρίας. καὶ τούτους ἄρα οἱ ἀστέρες οἱ τρεῖς οἱ ἐξαίφνης φανέντες καὶ τὸν ἥλιον περισχόντες, ὅτε τὰ ἐσιτήρια πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἔθυεν ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς παρόντων ἡμῶν, ὑπῃνίττοντο. οὕτω γὰρ ἐκφανέστατοι ἦσαν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας συνεχῶς τε αὐτοὺς ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀντεπιδεικνύειν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ διαθροεῖν ὅτι δεινὸν αὐτῷ συμβή-

He was constantly resorting to the theatres, and kept getting up banquets; in fine, he left nothing undone to court our favour. Yet he did not play the part well, but incurred suspicion as indulging in servile flattery. For every act that goes beyond propriety, even though it seems to some to be gracious, is regarded by men of sense as trickery. A.D. 193

When the senate voted him a statue of gold, he declined to accept it, saying: "Give me a bronze one, so that it may last; for I observe that the gold and silver statues of the emperors that ruled before me have been destroyed, whereas the bronze ones remain." In this he was mistaken, for it is virtue that preserves the memory of rulers; and in fact the bronze statue that was granted him was destroyed after his own overthrow.

These were the occurrences in Rome. I shall now speak of what happened outside, and of the various rebellions. For three men at this time, each commanding three legions of citizens and many foreigners besides, attempted to secure the control of affairs—Severus, Niger and Albinus. The last-named was governor of Britain, Severus of Pannonia, and Niger of Syria. These, then, were the three men portended by the three stars that suddenly came to view surrounding the sun when Julianus in our presence was offering the Sacrifices of Entrance in front of the senate-house. These stars were so very distinct that the soldiers kept continually looking at them and pointing them out to one another, while declaring that some dreadful fate would befall the emperor.

5 σεται. ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ηὐχόμεθα ταῦθ' οὕτω γενέσθαι καὶ ἠλπίζομεν, ἀλλ' ὑπό γε τοῦ παρόντος δέους οὐδ' ἀναβλέπειν ἐς αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ παρορῶντές πως, ἐτολμῶμεν. καὶ 15 τοιοῦτο μὲν τοῦτο οἶδα γενόμενον·[1] τῶν δὲ δὴ τριῶν ἡγεμόνων ὧν εἴρηκα δεινότατος ὁ Σεουῆρος ὤν,[2] καὶ προγνοὺς ὅτι μετὰ τὸ καταλῦσαι τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ τρεῖς συναράξουσι[3] καὶ ἀντιπολεμήσουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐγνώκει τὸν ἕνα τὸν ἐγγύτερον αὐτῷ προσποιήσασθαι, καὶ γράμματά τινι τῶν πιστῶν δοὺς τῷ 2 Ἀλβίνῳ ἐπεπόμφει, Καίσαρα αὐτὸν ποιῶν· τὸν γὰρ δὴ Νίγρον φρόνημα ἔχοντα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπίκλητον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι ἀπέγνω. καὶ ὁ μὲν[4] Ἀλβῖνος ὡς καὶ κοινωνὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ Σεουήρῳ ἐσόμενος κατὰ χώραν ἔμεινεν, ὁ δὲ Σεουῆρος τὰ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πάντα πλὴν τοῦ Βυζαντίου προσποιησάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο, 3 οὐδέποτε ἔξω τῶν ὅπλων γινόμενος, ἀλλ' ἑξακοσίους τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐν μέσοις αὐτοῖς μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ διῆγεν· οὐδὲ ἀπεδύσαντό ποτε ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς θώρακας πρὶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι.—Xiph. 291, 8—292, 2 R. St.

4 Ὅτι οὗτος[5] ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ καὶ ἀπληστίᾳ ἀσελγείᾳ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Περτίνακος, ὅτε τῆς Ἀφρικῆς

[1] *γενόμενον* Bk., *γινόμενον* VC.
[2] Cf. Exc. Val. 333 (p. 730): *ὅτι ὁ Σεουῆρος δεινότατος ἦν τό τε μέλλον ἀκριβῶς προνοῆσαι καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἀσφαλῶς διοικῆσαι, καὶ πᾶν μὲν τὸ κεκρυμμένον ὡς καὶ ἐμφανὲς ἐξευρεῖν, πᾶν δὲ τὸ δυσλόγιστον ὡς καὶ ἁπλοῦν διακρῖναι, πᾶν δὲ τὸ δυσδιάθετον ὡς καὶ ῥᾷστον ἐξεργάσασθαι.*
[3] *συναράξουσι* R. Steph., *συναρράξουσι* VC.
[4] *μέν* supplied by Bk.

As for us, however much we hoped and prayed that it might so prove, yet the fear of the moment would not permit us to gaze up at them save by furtive glances. So much for this incident, which I give from my own knowledge. Now of the three leaders that I have mentioned, Severus was the shrewdest;[1] he understood in advance that after Julianus had been deposed the three would clash and fight against one another for the empire, and he therefore determined to win over the rival who was nearest to him. So he sent a letter by one of his trusted friends to Albinus, appointing him Caesar; as for Niger, who was proud of having been summoned by the populace, he had no hopes of him. Albinus, accordingly, in the belief that he was to share the rule with Severus, remained where he was; and Severus, after winning over everything in Europe except Byzantium, was hastening against Rome. He did not venture outside the protection of arms, but having selected his six hundred most valiant men, he passed his time day and night in their midst; these did not once put off their breastplates until they were in Rome.

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This man,[2] when governor of Africa, had been tried and condemned by Pertinax for corruption,

[1] Cf. Exc. Val.: "Severus was most shrewd, both in accurately forecasting the future and in successfully handling the situation of the moment, in discovering everything concealed as if it were manifest, in deciding every complicated problem as if it were simple, and in accomplishing every difficult task as if it were most easy."

[2] The reference is uncertain; see critical note.

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[5] In the margin of cod. Peir. is written *φλούβιος*, a corrupt form that might be for *φούλβιος*, *φλάβιος* or *φάβιος*. The order of this excerpt in the collection determines its position between ch. 15. 1 and 16. 1, but its pertinence is not known.

ἦρχε, κατεδεδίκαστο, τότε δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῇ τοῦ Σεουήρου χάριτι ἀπεδέδεικτο.[1]—Exc. Val. 334 (p. 730).

16 Καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ταῦτα μαθὼν πολέμιόν τε τὸν Σεουῆρον διὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο κατ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ[2] τάφρευμα ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ διετάφρευσε καὶ πύλας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπέστησεν ὡς καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐκστρατεύσων 2 καὶ ἐκεῖθεν πολεμήσων. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ πόλις ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ στρατόπεδον, ὥσπερ ἐν πολεμίᾳ. πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ταραχὴ καὶ αὐλιζομένων καὶ γυμναζομένων ὡς ἑκάστων, ἀνδρῶν ἵππων ἐλεφάντων, πολὺς δὲ καὶ φόβος ἐς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐκ τῶν ὡπλισμένων, 3 ἅτε καὶ μισούντων σφᾶς, ἐγίγνετο.[3] ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ γέλως ἡμᾶς ἐλάμβανεν· οὔτε γὰρ οἱ δορυφόροι ἄξιόν τι τοῦ τε ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας σφῶν, ἅτε καὶ ἁβρῶς διαιτᾶσθαι μεμαθηκότες, ἐποίουν, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Μισηνῷ[4] ναυλοχοῦντος μεταπεμφθέντες οὐδ' ὅπως γυμνάσωνται ᾔδεσαν, οἵ τε ἐλέφαντες ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς πύργοις[5] οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἔτι τοὺς ἐπιστάτας[6] ἔφερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκείνους κατέ-4 βαλλον. μάλιστα δὲ ἐγελῶμεν ὅτι τὸ παλάτιον κιγκλίσι τε καὶ θύραις ἰσχυραῖς ἐκρατύνατο· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸν Περτίνακα οὐκ ἄν ποτε οἱ στρατιῶται ῥᾳδίως οὕτως, εἴπερ συνεκέκλειτο,[7] πεφο-

avarice, and licentiousness, but was at this time appointed [consul ?] among the first by that same man, as a favour to Severus. A.D. 193

Julianus, on learning of this, caused the senate to declare Severus a public enemy, and proceeded to prepare against him. In the suburbs he constructed a rampart, provided with gates, so that he might take up a position out there and fight from that base. The city during these days became nothing more nor less than a camp, in the enemy's country, as it were. Great was the turmoil on the part of the various forces that were encamped and drilling, —men, horses, and elephants,—and great, also, was the fear inspired in the rest of the population by the armed troops, because the latter hated them. Yet at times we would be overcome by laughter; for the Pretorians did nothing worthy of their name and of their promise, for they had learned to live delicately; the sailors summoned from the fleet stationed at Misenum did not even know how to drill; and the elephants found their towers burdensome and would not even carry their drivers any longer, but threw them off, too. But what caused us the greatest amusement was his fortifying of the palace with latticed gates and strong doors. For, inasmuch as it seemed probable that the soldiers would never have slain Pertinax so easily if the doors had been securely

[1] *ἀπεδέδεικτο* Val., *ἀποδέδεικτο* cod. Peir., *ὕπατος ἀπεδέδεικτο* Rk.
[2] *καὶ γάρ* supplied by Reim.
[3] *ἐγίγνετο* cod. Peir., *ἐγίνετο* V, *ἐγένετο* C.
[4] *Μισηνῷ* Sylb., *ἀμισηνῶ* VC.
[5] *πύργοις* cod. Peir. Suid., *ἵπποις* VC.
[6] *ἐπιστάτας* cod. Peir. Suid., *ἐπιβάτας* VC.
[7] *συνεκέκλειτο* Dind., *συνεκέκλειστο* VC Zon. cod. Peir.

νευκέναι ἐδόκουν,[1] ἐπίστευεν[2] ὅτι δυνήσεται κατακλεισθεὶς ἐς αὐτό, ἂν ἡττηθῇ, περιγενέσθαι.
—Xiph. 292, 2–17 R. St., Exc. Val. 335 (p. 730 sq.), Suid. *s. v.* ἐπιστάτις.

5 Ἔσφαξε μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν Λαῖτον καὶ τὴν Μαρκίαν, ὥστε σύμπαντας τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας τῷ Κομμόδῳ φθαρῆναι (καὶ γὰρ[3] τὸν Νάρκισσον[4] ὕστερον ὁ Σεουῆρος θηρίοις ἔδωκεν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο κηρύξας ὅτι "οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Κόμμοδον ἀποπνίξας"), ἔκτεινε δὲ καὶ παῖδας συχνοὺς ἐπὶ μαγγανεύμασιν, ὡς καὶ ἀποστρέψαι τι τῶν μελλόντων, εἰ προμάθοι αὐτά, δυνησόμενος. ἐπί τε τὸν Σεουῆρον ἀεί τινας ὡς δολοφονήσοντας
17 αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο καὶ τὴν Ῥάβενναν ἀκονιτὶ[5] παρέλαβε, καὶ οὓς ἐκεῖνος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμπεν ἢ πείσοντας ὑποστρέψαι ἢ εἴρξοντας τῶν παρόδων, προσεχώ-
2 ρουν αὐτῷ, οἵ τε δορυφόροι, οἷς μάλιστα ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐθάρρει, τῇ τε συνεχείᾳ τῶν πόνων ἀπεκναίοντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν φήμην τῆς τοῦ Σεουήρου παρουσίας δεινῶς ἐξεπλήττοντο, συγκαλέσας ἡμᾶς ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς κοινωνὸν αὐτῷ[6] τῆς ἀρχῆς
3 ἐκέλευε τὸν Σεουῆρον ψηφίσασθαι. οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται ἐκ γραμμάτων τοῦ Σεουήρου πεισθέντες ὅτι οὐδὲν κακόν, ἂν τοὺς σφαγέας τοῦ Περτίνακος ἐκδῶσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγωσι,

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Ὅτι Οὐεσπρώνιος Κάνδιδος ἀξιώσει μὲν ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνήκων, σκυθρωπότητι δὲ καὶ ἀγροικίᾳ πολὺ πλεῖον[7] προφέρων, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.—Exc. Val. 336 (p. 733).

[1] ἐδόκουν VC, ἔδοξαν cod. Peir.

locked, Julianus believed that in case of defeat he would be able to shut himself up there and survive. A.D. 193

He accordingly put to death both Laetus and Marcia, so that all who conspired against Commodus perished; for later Severus gave Narcissus to the wild beasts, causing it to be expressly proclaimed that he was the man who had strangled Commodus. Julianus also killed many boys as a magic rite, believing that he could avert some future misfortunes if he learned of them beforehand. And he kept sending men against Severus to slay him by treachery. But Severus presently reached Italy, and took possession of Ravenna without striking a blow. Moreover, the men whom Julianus kept sending against him, either to persuade him to turn back or else to block his advance, were going over to Severus' side; and the Pretorians, in whom Julianus reposed most confidence, were becoming worn out by their constant toil and were becoming greatly alarmed at the report of Severus' near approach. At this juncture Julianus called us together and bade us appoint Severus to share his throne. But the soldiers, convinced by letters of Severus that if they surrendered the slayers of Pertinax and themselves kept the peace they

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Vespronius Candidus, a man of the first rank, but much more prominent for his sullenness and boorishness, came near being killed by the soldiers.

[2] ἐπίστευεν VC, ἐπίστευσαν cod. Peir.
[3] γάρ supplied by Bk.
[4] Νάρκισσον R. Steph., ναρκισσιανόν VC.
[5] ἀκονιτί R. Steph., ἀκοντί VC.
[6] αὐτῷ Bk., αὐτῶ VC.
[7] πλεῖον Bk., πλείωι cod. Peir.

πείσονται, τούς τε ἀποκτείναντας τὸν Περτίνακα συνέλαβον, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο Σιλίῳ Μεσσάλᾳ τῷ
4 ὑπατεύοντι τότε ἐμήνυσαν. καὶ ὃς συναγαγὼν ἡμᾶς ἐς τὸ Ἀθήναιον καλούμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν παιδευομένων ἀσκήσεως, τὰ παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐδήλωσε· καὶ τοῦ τε Ἰουλιανοῦ θάνατον κατεψηφισάμεθα καὶ τὸν Σεουῆρον αὐτοκράτορα ὠνομάσαμεν, τῷ τε Περτίνακι
5 ἡρωικὰς τιμὰς ἀπεδώκαμεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰουλιανὸς οὕτως ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ παλατίῳ κατακείμενος ἐφονεύθη, τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπών, "καὶ τί δεινὸν ἐποίησα; τίνα ἀπέκτεινα;" ἔζησε δὲ ἑξήκοντά τε ἔτη καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας καὶ ἡμέρας ἴσας, ἀφ' ὧν ἓξ καὶ ἑξήκοντα ἦρξεν ἡμέρας.—Xiph. 292, 17—293, 10 R. St.

6 Δίων οδ' βιβλίῳ· "ἀνδρῶν γάρ ἐστι φρονίμων μήτ' ἄρχειν πολέμου μήτ' ἐπιφερόμενον αὐτὸν ἀναδύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἐθελοντὶ[1] σωφρονήσαντι συγγνώμην, κἂν προαμάρτῃ τι, ποιεῖσθαι . . ."—Bekk. *Anecd.* 168, 7 sqq.

[1] ἐθελοντί de Boer, ἐθέλοντι cod.

would suffer no harm, arrested the men who had killed Pertinax, and announced this fact to Silius Messalla, who was then consul. The latter assembled us in the Athenaeum,[1] so named from the educational activities that were carried on in it, and informed us of the soldiers' action. We thereupon sentenced Julianus to death, named Severus emperor, and bestowed divine honours upon Pertinax. And so it came about that Julianus was slain as he was reclining in the palace itself; his only words were, "But what evil have I done? Whom have I killed?" He had lived sixty years, four months, and the same number of days, out of which he had reigned sixty-six days. A.D. 193

Dio, Book LXXIV: "It is the part of sensible men neither to begin war nor yet to shrink from it when it is thrust upon them, but rather to grant pardon to the one who has voluntarily come to his senses, even though he has previously made a mistake . . ." [2]

[1] Built by Hadrian to serve as a place for readings, lectures, etc.

[2] The reference of this passage is uncertain.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXV

LXXV 1,1 *Σεουῆρος μὲν δὴ αὐτοκράτωρ οὕτω γενόμενος τοὺς μὲν δορυφόρους*[1] *τοὺς χειρουργήσαντας τὸ κατὰ τὸν Περτίνακα ἔργον θανάτῳ ἐζημίωσε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, πρὶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ περισχὼν οὐκ εἰδότας τὸ μέλλον σφίσι συμβήσεσθαι, πολλά τε καὶ πικρὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐς τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σφων παρανομίας ὀνειδίσας αὐτοῖς, τῶν τε ὅπλων ἀπέλυσε τούς τε ἵππους ἀφείλετο καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπήλασεν.*[2] 2 *ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἄκοντες τά τε ὅπλα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἠφίεσαν, ἔν τε τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἄζωστοι ἐσκεδάννυντο· εἷς δέ τις, οὐκ ἐθελήσαντος τοῦ ἵππου ἀποστῆναι ἀλλ' ἐπακολουθοῦντος αὐτῷ καὶ χρεμετίζοντος, καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἑαυτὸν κατεχρήσατο· καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς ὁρῶσι καὶ ὁ ἵππος ἡδέως ἀποθνήσκειν.*

[1] *δορυφόρους* placed here instead of after *γενέσθαι* by Bs., who also supplies the second *τοὺς*.

[2] Cf. Exc. Salm.: *Σεβῆρος ἔστειλε γράμματα εἰς Ῥώμην ὑπαντῆσαι αὐτῷ τοὺς στρατιώτας. συνελθόντας δὲ ὠνείδισεν εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ κἂν μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτόχειρες Περτίνακος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλά, δέον αὐτοὺς ἀνελεῖν τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας ἐκεῖνον, τοῦτο μὴ ποιήσαντες ὑπ' αἰτίασίν εἰσι φόνου· "ἐπὶ φυλακῇ γὰρ βασιλικῇ ταχθέντες," ἔφη, "οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει τὰ ξίφη διαζώννυσθε ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ." καὶ ἀπολαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἀπεδίωξεν αὐτούς. εἷς δὲ στρατιώτης, οὐκ ἀνασχομένου τοῦ ἵππου ἀπολιπεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀκολουθοῦντος καὶ χρεμετίζοντος, ὑπεραλγὴς γενόμενος τὸν ἵππον ἔσφαξε καὶ ἑαυτόν.*—*Exc. Salm.* 127 Muell. (v. 1–12).

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXV

Severus, on becoming emperor in the manner described, inflicted the death penalty on the Pretorians who had taken part in the slaying of Pertinax; and as for the others, he summoned them, before he came to Rome, and having surrounded them in the open while they were ignorant as yet of the fate in store for them, uttered many bitter reproaches against them for their lawless deed against their emperor, and then relieved them of their arms, took away their horses, and banished them from Rome.[1] Thereupon the majority of them proceeded reluctantly to throw away their arms and let their horses go, and were scattering, wearing only their tunics and ungirded; but one man, when his horse would not go away, but kept following him and neighing, slew both the beast and himself, and it seemed to the spectators that the horse, too, was glad to die. A.D. 193

[1] Cf. Exc. Salm.: "Severus sent letters to Rome summoning the soldiers to come out to meet him. And when they had assembled, he reproached them, declaring that even though they had not been the actual slayers themselves of the emperor Pertinax, nevertheless, through their failure to slay, as they should have done, those who had killed him, they were responsible for his murder. 'As men appointed for the guarding of the emperor,' he said, 'you gird your swords, not on your left side, but on your right.' And taking from them their arms and their horses, he drove them away. But one soldier, when his horse refused to leave him, but kept following him and neighing, was overcome by grief and slew both the horse and himself."

3 Πράξας δὲ ὁ Σεουῆρος ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσῄει, μέχρι[1] μὲν τῶν πυλῶν ἐπί τε τοῦ ἵππου καὶ ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἱππικῇ ἐλθών, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τήν τε πολιτικὴν ἀλλαξάμενος καὶ βαδίσας· καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ στρατὸς πᾶς, καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς, ὡπλισμένοι 4 παρηκολούθησαν. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ θέα πασῶν ὧν ἑόρακα λαμπροτάτη· ἥ τε γὰρ πόλις πᾶσα ἄνθεσί τε καὶ δάφναις ἐστεφάνωτο καὶ ἱματίοις ποικίλοις ἐκεκόσμητο, φωσί[2] τε καὶ θυμιάμασιν ἔλαμπε, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι λευχειμονοῦντες καὶ γανύμενοι[3] πολλὰ ἐπευφήμουν, οἵ τε στρατιῶται ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὥσπερ ἐν πανηγύρει τινὶ πομπῆς ἐκπρεπόντως ἀνεστρέφοντο, καὶ προσέτι ἡμεῖς 5 ἐν κόσμῳ περιῄειμεν. ὁ δ' ὅμιλος ἰδεῖν τε αὐτὸν καί τι φθεγγομένου ἀκοῦσαι, ὥσπερ τι ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἠλλοιωμένου, ποθοῦντες ἠρεθίζοντο· καί τινες καὶ ἐμετεώριζον ἀλλήλους, ὅπως ἐξ ὑψηλοτέρου αὐτὸν κατίδωσιν.—Xiph. 293, 19—294, 15 R. St.

2 Ἐσελθὼν δὲ οὕτως ἐνεανιεύσατο μὲν οἷα καὶ οἱ πρῴην ἀγαθοὶ αὐτοκράτορες πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡς οὐδένα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀποκτενεῖ·[4] καὶ ὤμοσε περὶ τούτου, καὶ τό γε μεῖζον, ψηφίσματι κοινῷ αὐτὸ κυρωθῆναι προσετετάχει, πολέμιον καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τὸν ὑπηρετήσοντα αὐτῷ ἔς τι τοιοῦτον, αὐτούς τε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν, 2 νομίζεσθαι δογματίσας. πρῶτος μέντοι αὐτὸς τὸν νόμον τουτονὶ παρέβη καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαξε, πολλοὺς ἀνελών· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σόλων ὁ Ἰούλιος, ὁ καὶ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο κατὰ πρόσταξιν

[1] μέχρι Leuncl., καὶ μέχρι VC.
[2] φωσί Naber, φωτί VC.

After doing this Severus entered Rome. He advanced as far as the gates on horseback and in cavalry costume, but there he changed to civilian attire and proceeded on foot; and the entire army, both infantry and cavalry, accompanied him in full armour. The spectacle proved the most brilliant of any that I have witnessed; for the whole city had been decked with garlands of flowers and laurel and adorned with richly coloured stuffs, and it was ablaze with torches and burning incense; the citizens, wearing white robes and with radiant countenances, uttered many shouts of good omen; the soldiers, too, stood out conspicuous in their armour as they moved about like participants in some holiday procession; and finally, we [senators] were walking about in state. The crowd chafed in its eagerness to see him and to hear him say something, as if he had been somehow changed by his good fortune; and some of them held one another aloft, that from a higher position they might catch sight of him.

A.D. 193

Having entered the city in this manner, he made us some brave promises, such as the good emperors of old had given, to the effect that he would not put any senator to death; and he took oath concerning this matter, and, what was more, also ordered it to be confirmed by a joint decree, prescribing that both the emperor and anyone who should aid him in any such deed should be considered public enemies, both they and their children. Yet he himself was the first to violate this law instead of keeping it, and made away with many senators; indeed, Julius Solon himself, who framed

[3] *γανύμενοι* Dind., *γαννύμενοι* VC.
[4] *ἀποκτενεῖ* Zon., *ἀποκτείνῃ* VC.

αὐτοῦ συγγράψας, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐσφάγη. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἡμῖν οὐ καταθύμια ἔπραττεν, 3 αἰτίαν τε[1] ἔσχεν ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει στρατιωτῶν ὀχλώδη τὴν πόλιν ποιῆσαι καὶ δαπάνῃ χρημάτων περιττῇ τὸ κοινὸν βαρῦναι,[2] καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ὅτι μὴ ἐν τῇ τῶν συνόντων οἱ εὐνοίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων ἰσχύι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐποιεῖτο· 4 μάλιστα δὲ ἐπεκάλουν αὐτῷ τινὲς ὅτι, καθεστηκότος ἔκ τε τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῆς τε[3] Μακεδονίας καὶ τοῦ Νωρικοῦ μόνον[4] τοὺς σωματοφύλακας εἶναι, κἀκ τούτου καὶ τοῖς εἴδεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπιεικεστέρων καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἁπλουστέρων 5 ὄντων, τοῦτο μὲν κατέλυσεν, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατοπέδων ὁμοίως πάντων τὸ ἀεὶ ἐνδεὲς ὂν ἀντικαθίστασθαι τάξας, αὐτὸς μὲν[5] ὡς καὶ ἐπιστησομένοις[6] διὰ τοῦτο τὰ στρατιωτικὰ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς χρησόμενος,[7] καί τι καὶ ἆθλον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τὰ πολέμια προθήσων ἐποίησεν αὐτό, τῷ δὲ δὴ ἔργῳ σαφέστατα τήν[8] τε ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας παραπώλεσε πρὸς λῃστείας καὶ μονο- 6 μαχίας ἀντὶ τῆς πρὶν στρατείας τραπομένην, καὶ τὸ ἄστυ ὄχλου στρατιωτῶν συμμίκτου[9] καὶ ἰδεῖν ἀγριωτάτων καὶ ἀκοῦσαι φοβερωτάτων ὁμιλῆσαί τε ἀγροικοτάτων ἐπλήρωσε.—Xiph. 294, 15–30 R. St., Exc. Val. 337 (p. 733).

3 Σημεῖα δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξ ὧν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἤλπισε, ταῦτα ἐγένετο. ὅτε γὰρ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσεγράφη, ὄναρ ἔδοξε λύκαινάν τινα κατὰ ταὐτὰ

[1] τε supplied by Reim.
[2] βαρῦναι Reim., ἐβάρυνεν cod. Peir.
[3] τε supplied by R. Steph.
[4] μόνον cod. Peir., μόνων VC.

this decree at his behest, was murdered not long afterward. There were many things Severus did that were not to our liking, and he was blamed for making the city turbulent through the presence of so many troops and for burdening the State by his excessive expenditures of money, and most of all, for placing his hope of safety in the strength of his army rather than in the good will of his associates [in the government]. But some found fault with him particularly because he abolished the practice of selecting the body-guard exclusively from Italy, Spain, Macedonia and Noricum,—a plan that furnished men of more respectable appearance and of simpler habits,—and ordered that any vacancies should be filled from all the legions alike. Now he did this with the idea that he should thus have guards with a better knowledge of the soldier's duties, and should also be offering a kind of prize for those who proved brave in war; but, as a matter of fact, it became only too apparent that he had incidentally ruined the youth of Italy, who turned to brigandage and gladiatorial fighting in place of their former service in the army, and in filling the city with a throng of motley soldiers most savage in appearance, most terrifying in speech, and most boorish in conversation. A.D. 193

The signs which had led him to hope for the imperial power were as follows. When he was admitted to the senate, he dreamed that he was

[5] *μέν* supplied by Val.
[6] *ἐπιστησομένοις* Rk., *ἐπιστησόμενος* cod. Peir.
[7] *χρησόμενος* Reim., *χρησάμενος* cod. Peir.
[8] *σαφέστατα τήν* Rk., *σαφέστατήν* cod. Peir.
[9] *συμμίκτου* cod. Peir., *συμμίκτων* VC.

τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ θηλάζειν. μέλλοντί τε αὐτῷ τὴν Ἰουλίαν ἄγεσθαι ἡ Φαυστῖνα ἡ τοῦ Μάρκου γυνὴ τὸν θάλαμόν σφισιν ἐν τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ τῷ
2 κατὰ τὸ παλάτιον παρεσκεύασεν. ὕδωρ τε ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῷ καθεύδοντί ποτε, ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς, ἀνεδόθη. καὶ ἐν Λουγδούνῳ ἄρχοντι πᾶσα αὐτῷ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων δύναμις προσῆλθέ τε καὶ ἠσπάσατο, ὄναρ φημί. καὶ ἄλλοτε ἀνήχθη ἐς περιωπὴν ὑπό τινος, καὶ καθορῶν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν θάλατταν ἐφήπτετο αὐτῶν ὥσπερ παναρμονίου τινὸς ὀργά-
3 νου, καὶ ἐκεῖνα συνεφθέγγετο. καὶ αὖθις ἵππον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ τὸν μὲν Περτίνακα ἀναβεβηκότα[1] ἀπορρῖψαι, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἑκόντα ἀναλαβεῖν ἐνόμισε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων ἔμαθεν, ὕπαρ δὲ ἐς[2] τὸν βασιλικὸν δίφρον ἔφηβος ὢν ἔτι ἀγνοίᾳ ἐνιδρύθη.[3] τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ προεδήλωσε.

4 Καταστὰς δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἡρῷον τῷ Περτίνακι κατεσκεύασε, τό τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπί τε ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἁπάσαις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἅπασι προσέταξεν ἐπιλέγεσθαι, καὶ χρυσῆν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐφ᾽ ἅρματος ἐλεφάντων ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἐσάγεσθαι, καὶ ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκέλευσε θέατρα θρόνους[4] τρεῖς
2 καταχρύσους αὐτῷ ἐσκομίζεσθαι. ἡ δὲ δὴ ταφὴ καίτοι πάλαι τεθνηκότος αὐτοῦ τοιάδε ἐγένετο. ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ βῆμα ξύλινον ἐν χρῷ τοῦ λιθίνου κατεσκευάσθη, καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ οἴκημα

[1] ἀναβεβηκότα Rk., καὶ ἀναβεβηκότα VC.
[2] ἐς Leuncl., ἐς τε VC.
[3] ἐνιδρύθη Bk., ἐνιδρύνθη VC.
[4] θρόνους Leuncl., θρόνους τε VC.

suckled by a she-wolf just as Romulus had been. A.D. 193 When he was about to marry Julia, Faustina, the wife of Marcus, prepared their nuptial chamber in the temple of Venus near the palace. On another occasion water gushed from his hand, as from a spring, while he slept. When he was governor at Lugdunum, the whole Roman dominion approached and saluted him—in a dream, I mean. At another time he was taken up by someone to a place commanding a wide view, and as he gazed down from there upon all the land and all the sea he laid his fingers on them as one might on an instrument capable of playing all modes,[1] and they all sang together. Again, he thought that in the Roman Forum a horse threw Pertinax, who had mounted it, but readily took himself on its back. These things he had learned from dreams; but also when awake he had, while yet a youth, seated himself through ignorance upon the imperial throne. These, then, were some of the signs that pointed in his case to the supreme power.

Upon establishing himself in power he erected a shrine to Pertinax, and commanded that his name should be mentioned at the close of all prayers and all oaths; he also ordered that a golden image of Pertinax should be carried into the Circus on a car drawn by elephants, and that three gilded thrones should be borne into the other amphitheatres in his honour. His funeral, in spite of the time that had elapsed since his death, was carried out as follows. In the Roman Forum a wooden platform was constructed hard by the marble rostra, upon which

[1] Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 399 C.

ἄτοιχον περίστυλον, ἔκ τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποικιλμένον, ἐτέθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κλίνη ὁμοία,
3 κεφαλὰς πέριξ θηρίων χερσαίων τε καὶ θαλασσίων ἔχουσα, ἐκομίσθη στρώμασι πορφυροῖς καὶ διαχρύσοις κεκοσμημένη, καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν εἴδωλόν τι τοῦ Περτίνακος κήρινον, σκευῇ ἐπινικίῳ εὐθετημένον, ἀνετέθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰς μυίας παῖς εὐπρεπής, ὡς δῆθεν καθεύδοντος, πτεροῖς ταῶνος
4 ἀπεσόβει. προκειμένου δ' αὐτοῦ ὅ τε Σεουῆρος καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ αἵ τε γυναῖκες ἡμῶν προσῄειμεν πενθικῶς[1] ἐσταλμένοι· καὶ ἐκεῖναι μὲν ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑπαίθριοι ἐκαθεζόμεθα. κἀκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν ἀνδριάντες πάντων τῶν ἐπιφα-
5 νῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἀρχαίων, ἔπειτα χοροὶ παίδων καὶ ἀνδρῶν θρηνώδη τινὰ ὕμνον ἐς τὸν Περτίνακα ᾄδοντες παρῆλθον· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔθνη πάντα τὰ ὑπήκοα ἐν εἰκόσι χαλκαῖς, ἐπιχωρίως σφίσιν ἐσταλμένα, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει αὐτῷ γένη, τό τε τῶν ῥαβδούχων καὶ τὸ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν τε κηρύκων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιουτότροπα,
6 ἐφείπετο. εἶτ' εἰκόνες ἧκον ἀνδρῶν ἄλλων, οἷς τι ἔργον ἢ ἐξεύρημα ἢ καὶ ἐπιτήδευμα λαμπρὸν ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς οἵ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ὡπλισμένοι οἵ τε ἀθληταὶ ἵπποι καὶ τὰ ἐντάφια, ὅσα ὅ τε αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἡμεῖς αἵ τε γυναῖκες ἡμῶν καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς οἱ ἐλλόγιμοι οἵ τε δῆμοι καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει συστήματα ἐπέμψαμεν· καὶ αὐτοῖς βωμὸς περίχρυσος, ἐλέφαντί τε καὶ
5 λίθοις Ἰνδικοῖς ἠσκημένος, ἠκολούθει. ὡς δὲ παρεξῆλθε ταῦτα, ἀνέβη ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, καὶ ἀνέγνω ἐγκώμιον τοῦ Περτίνακος. ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ διὰ μέσου τῶν

was set a shrine, without walls, but surrounded by A.D. 193 columns, cunningly wrought of both ivory and gold. In it there was placed a bier of the same materials, surrounded by heads of both land and sea animals and adorned with coverlets of purple and gold. Upon this rested an effigy of Pertinax in wax, laid out in triumphal garb; and a comely youth was keeping the flies away from it with peacock feathers, as though it were really a person sleeping. While the body lay there in state, Severus as well as we senators and our wives approached, wearing mourning; the women sat in the porticos, and we men under the open sky. After this there moved past, first, images of all the famous Romans of old, then choruses of boys and men, singing a dirge-like hymn to Pertinax; there followed all the subject nations, represented by bronze figures attired in native dress, and the guilds of the City itself—those of the lictors, the scribes, the heralds, and all the rest. Then came images of other men who had been distinguished for some exploit or invention or manner of life. Behind these were the cavalry and infantry in armour, the race-horses, and all the funeral offerings that the emperor and we [senators] and our wives, the more distinguished knights, and communities, and the corporations of the City, had sent. Following them came an altar gilded all over and adorned with ivory and gems of India. When these had passed by, Severus mounted the rostra and read a eulogy of Pertinax. We shouted our

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[1] πενθικῶς Sylb., . . . μυθικῶς VC.

λόγων αὐτοῦ ἐπεβοῶμεν, τὰ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες τὰ δὲ καὶ θρηνοῦντες τὸν Περτίνακα, πλεῖστα δὲ
2 ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσατο. καὶ τέλος, μελλούσης τῆς κλίνης κινηθήσεσθαι, πάντες ἅμα ὠλοφυράμεθα καὶ πάντες ἐπεδακρύσαμεν. κατεκόμισαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος οἵ τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ αἵ τε ἐνεστῶσαι καὶ αἱ ἐς νέωτα ἀποδε-
3 δειγμέναι, καὶ ἱππεῦσί τισι φέρειν ἔδοσαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πρὸ τῆς κλίνης προῄειμεν, καί τινες ἐκόπτοντο ἑτέρων πένθιμόν τι ὑπαυλούντων· ὁ δ' αὐτοκράτωρ ἐφ' ἅπασιν εἵπετο, καὶ οὕτως ἐς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδίον ἀφικόμεθα. ἐπεσκεύαστο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πυρὰ πυργοειδὴς τρίβολος, ἐλέφαντι καὶ χρυσῷ μετὰ ἀνδριάντων τινῶν κεκοσμημένη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἄκρας ἅρμα ἐπίχρυσον, ὅπερ ὁ
4 Περτίναξ ἤλαυνεν. ἐς οὖν ταύτην τὰ ἐντάφια ἐνεβλήθη καὶ ἡ κλίνη ἐνετέθη, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ εἴδωλον ὅ τε Σεουῆρος καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς τοῦ Περτίνακος ἐφίλησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ βῆμα ἀνέβη, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἡ βουλὴ πλὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ ἰκρία, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς τε ἅμα καὶ ἐπιτηδείως τὰ γινόμενα
5 θεωρήσωμεν. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ ἱππὰς τὸ τέλος προσφόρως σφίσιν ἐσκευασμένοι, οἵ τε ἱππεῖς οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ περὶ τὴν πυρὰν πολιτικάς τε ἅμα καὶ πολεμικὰς[1] διεξόδους διελίττοντες διεξῆλθον· εἶθ' οὕτως οἱ ὕπατοι πῦρ ἐς[2] αὐτὴν ἐνέβαλον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου ἀετός τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνέπτατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν Περτίναξ οὕτως ἠθανατίσθη.—Xiph. 294, 30—296, 32 R. St.

6 Ὅτι ὁ Περτίναξ, τὸ μὲν εὐπόλεμον ἄγροικον τὸ

[1] πολεμικάς Sylb., ποιητικάς VC.
[2] ἐς Bk., ἐπ' VC.

approval many times in the course of his address, A.D. 193 now praising and now lamenting Pertinax, but our shouts were loudest when he concluded. Finally, when the bier was about to be moved, we all lamented and wept together. It was brought down from the platform by the high priests and the magistrates, not only those who were actually in office at the time but also those who had been elected for the ensuing year; and they gave it to certain knights to carry. All the rest of us, now, marched ahead of the bier, some beating our breasts and others playing a dirge on the flute, but the emperor followed behind all the rest; and in this order we arrived at the Campus Martius. There a pyre had been built in the form of a tower having three stories and adorned with ivory and gold as well as a number of statues, while on its very summit was placed a gilded chariot that Pertinax had been wont to drive. Inside this pyre the funeral offerings were cast and the bier was placed in it, and then Severus and the relatives of Pertinax kissed the effigy. The emperor then ascended a tribunal, while we, the senate, except the magistrates, took our places on wooden stands in order to view the ceremonies both safely and conveniently. The magistrates and the equestrian order, arrayed in a manner befitting their station, and likewise the cavalry and the infantry, passed in and out around the pyre performing intricate evolutions, both those of peace and those of war. Then at last the consuls applied fire to the structure, and when this had been done, an eagle flew aloft from it. Thus was Pertinax made immortal.

Although a warlike nature usually ends up by

δὲ εἰρηναῖον δειλὸν ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐκβαῖνον, ἀμφότερα κράτιστος ὁμοίως ἐγένετο, φοβερὸς μὲν πολεμῆσαι σοφὸς δὲ εἰρηνεῦσαι ὤν· καὶ τὸ μὲν θρασύ, οὗ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέχει, πρός τε τὸ ἀλλόφυλον καὶ πρὸς τὸ στασίαζον, τὸ δὲ ἐπιεικές, οὗ τὸ δίκαιον μεταλαμβάνει, πρός τε τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ
7 πρὸς τὸ σῶφρον ἐνεδείκνυτο. προαχθεὶς δὲ ἐς τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης προστασίαν οὐκ ἠλέγχθη [1] ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ μείζονος αὐξήσεως, ὥστε ἐν μὲν τοῖς ταπεινότερος ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀγκωδέστερος τοῦ καθήκοντος γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διετέλεσεν σεμνὸς ἔξω τοῦ σκυθρωποῦ, πρᾷος ἔξω τοῦ ταπεινοῦ, φρόνιμος ἄνευ κακουργίας, δίκαιος ἄνευ ἀκριβολογίας, οἰκονομικὸς χωρὶς ῥυπαρίας, μεγαλόνους χωρὶς αὐχήματος.—Exc. Val. 338 (p. 734).

6 Ὁ δὲ Σεουῆρος ἐξεστράτευσε κατὰ τοῦ Νίγρου. οὗτος δὲ Ἰταλὸς μὲν ἦν, ἐξ ἱππέων, οὔτε δὲ ἐς τὸ κρεῖττον οὔτε ἐς τὸ χεῖρον ἐπίσημος, ὥστε τινὰ ἢ πάνυ αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖν ἢ πάνυ ψέγειν· διὸ καὶ τῇ
2 Συρίᾳ ὑπὸ Κομμόδου προσετάχθη. ἐχρῆτο δὲ ὑποστρατήγῳ μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῷ Αἰμιλιανῷ, ὅτι τε μεσεύων καὶ ἐφεδρεύων τοῖς πράγμασι πάντων τῶν τότε βουλευόντων καὶ συνέσει καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πραγμάτων προφέρειν ἐδόκει (ἐπὶ πολλῶν γὰρ ἐθνῶν ἐξήταστο, ὑφ' ὧνπερ καὶ ἐξώγκωτο), ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἀλβίνου προσήκων ἦν.—Xiph. 296, 32—297, 5 R. St., Exc. Val. 339, 340 (p. 734).

2ᵃ Ὅτι ὁ Νίγρος ἦν μὲν οὐδ' ἄλλως ἀρτίφρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ δυνηθεὶς ἐπλημμέλησε· τότε δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ὠγκώθη, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν [2]

being harsh and a peaceful one cowardly, Pertinax A.D. 193
excelled equally in both respects, being formidable in war and shrewd in peace. He showed boldness, of which bravery is an ingredient, toward foreigners and rebels, but clemency, into which justice enters, toward his countrymen and the orderly element. When advanced to preside over the destinies of the world, he never showed himself unworthy of his increased dignity, so as to appear more subservient in some things and more haughty in others than was fitting, but remained unchanged absolutely from first to last—being dignified without sullenness, gentle without humility, shrewd without knavery, just without excessive strictness, frugal without stinginess, high-minded without boastfulness.

Severus now made a campaign against Niger. This man was an Italian of the equestrian order, and was remarkable for nothing either good or bad, so that one could neither praise nor censure him very much; and so he had been assigned to Syria by Commodus. He had as one of his lieutenants Aemilianus, since this man, by remaining neutral and watching events in order to take advantage of them, seemed to surpass all the senators of that day in understanding and in experience of affairs (he had been tested in many provinces and as a result had grown conceited), and also because he was a relative of Albinus.

Niger was not a man of keen intelligence in any case, but made mistakes in spite of his vast power. At this time he was more puffed up than ever, so

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[1] ἠλέγχθη Val., ἠλέχθη cod. Peir.
[2] μέν Rk., μὲν τόν cod. Peir.

Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν νέον ὀνομάζουσι χαίρειν, τῷ δὲ ἐρομένῳ "τίς σοι ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπιτέτροφεν;" τὸ ξίφος δεῖξαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι "τοῦτο."—Exc. Val. 341 (p. 734).

3 Συνερρωγότος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἦλθέ τε ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πέρινθον ἐπεστράτευσε. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ σημείων οὐκ ἀγαθῶν ἐταράχθη· ἀετός τε γὰρ ἐπ' ἄγαλμα στρατιωτικὸν ἱζήσας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπέμεινε, καίπερ ἀποσοβούμενος, ὥστε καὶ ἁλῶναι, καὶ μέλισσαι κηρία περὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικά, τάς τε εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, περιέπλασσον. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν ἀπῆρεν ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον.

4 Ὁ Αἰμιλιανὸς δὲ περὶ Κύζικον συμβαλών τισι τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν τοῦ Σεουήρου ἡττήθη πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσφάγη. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μεταξὺ τῶν στενῶν τῆς τε Νικαίας καὶ τῆς Κίου πόλεμος 5 αὐτοῖς μέγας γίνεται καὶ πολύτροπος· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ συστάδην ἐμάχοντο, οἱ δὲ τοὺς λόφους καταλαβόντες ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων ἔβαλλον καὶ ἠκόντιζον ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης ἐς πλοῖα ἐμβεβηκότες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπετοξάζοντο. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἐνίκων οἱ Σεουήρειοι, ὑπὸ τῷ Κανδίδῳ ταττόμενοι, καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις ὅθεν ἐμάχοντο, ὑπερδεξίοις οὖσι, πλεονεκ-6 τοῦντες· μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Νίγρου ἐπιφανέντος παλινδίωξις γίνεται καὶ νίκη τῶν Νιγρείων. ἔπειτα τοῦ Κανδίδου τῶν σημειοφόρων ἐπιλαμβανομένου, καὶ στρέφοντος αὐτοὺς ἀντιπροσώπους τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις τὴν φυγὴν ὀνειδίζοντος, αἰσχυνθέντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπέστρεψαν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀντεπεκράτησαν.

that, when men called him a new Alexander, he A.D. 193 showed his pleasure, and when a man asked, "Who gave you permission to do this?" he pointed to his sword and answered, "This."

When the war broke out, Niger proceeded to Byzantium and from there advanced against Perinthus. But he was disturbed by unfavourable omens that came to his notice; for an eagle perched upon a military standard and remained there until captured, in spite of attempts to drive it away, and bees made honeycomb around the military standards and especially around his images. For these reasons he returned to Byzantium.

Aemilianus, joining battle with some of Severus' A.D. 194 generals near Cyzicus, was defeated by them and slain. Afterwards amid the narrow passes of Nicaea and Cius a great battle took place between the two armies, with varying fortunes. Some fought in close order on the plain, others occupied the hills and hurled stones and javelins at their opponents from the higher ground, and still others got into boats and discharged their arrows at the enemy from the lake.[1] At first the followers of Severus, commanded by Candidus, were victorious, for they had an advantage in fighting from the higher ground; but later, when Niger himself appeared, the pursuers became the pursued, and victory rested with Niger's men. Then Candidus seized hold of the standard-bearers and forced them to turn round facing the enemy, at the same time upbraiding the soldiers for their flight; at this his men were ashamed, turned back, and once more got the upper hand of their opponents.

[1] Ascania.

κἂν[1] *πανωλεθρίᾳ τούτους διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ ἡ πόλις ἐγγὺς ἦν καὶ νὺξ σκοτεινὴ ἐγένετο.*

7 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Ἰσσῷ πρὸς ταῖς καλουμέναις πύλαις μεγίστη γίνεται μάχη, τῷ μὲν Σεουηρείῳ στρατεύματι Οὐαλεριανοῦ τε καὶ Ἀνυλλίνου[2] ἐπιστατούντων, Νίγρου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς οἰκείοις παρόντος τάγμασι καὶ συντάσσοντος ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ ἐσβολὴ αὕτη, αἱ Κιλίκειοι πύλαι, 2 διὰ τὴν στενότητα οὕτω προσαγορεύονται· ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἀπότομα ἀνατείνει, ἔνθεν δὲ κρημνοὶ βαθεῖς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καθήκουσιν. ὁ οὖν Νίγρος στρατόπεδον ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς ἰσχυροῦ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ πρώτως μὲν τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς τούς τε λιθοβόλους, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔταξεν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς τοὺς προσμιγνύντας[3] σφίσιν ἀμύνοιντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ πολλοῦ τῇ ἰσχύι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χρῷντο· 3 τό τε γὰρ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ[4] ὑπό τε τῶν κρημνῶν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ ὑπό τε τῆς ὕλης ἀνεκβάτου οὔσης ἐπέφρακτο. τό τε οὖν στράτευμα οὕτω διέταξε, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατεχώρισεν, ὅπως, ἄν τις αὐτῶν φυγεῖν ἐθελήσῃ, 4 μὴ δυνηθῇ. ὁ οὖν Ἀνυλλῖνος συνιδὼν[5] τοῦτο τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα προεβάλετο, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὸ κοῦφον πᾶν ἐπέταξεν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν πόρρωθεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνείργωσι τοὺς ἐναντίους, οἱ δ' ἀσφαλῆ τὴν ἄνοδόν σφισιν ἀντιπαράσχωσι· τοὺς δ' ἱππέας

[1] κἂν Bk., καὶ ἂν VC.
[2] Ἀνυλλίνου Bs., ἀνυλίνου VC (and similarly below).
[3] προσμιγνύντας H. Steph., προμιγνύντας VC.
[4] ἀριστερά . . . δεξιά Lobeck, ἀριστερᾶ . . . δεξιᾶ VC.
[5] συνιδών Rk., ἀνιδών VC.

Indeed, they would have utterly destroyed them, A.D. 194 had not the city been near and had not a dark night come on.

After this there was a tremendous battle at Issus, near the "Gates," as they are called. In this struggle Valerianus and Anullinus commanded the army of Severus, while Niger himself was present with his own forces and arrayed them for the battle. This pass, the "Cilician Gates,"[1] is so named because of its narrowness; for on the one side precipitous mountains tower aloft and on the other high cliffs descend to the sea. Niger, now, pitched his camp here on a well-fortified hill; and he stationed in his front line the heavy-armed troops, then the javelin-men and stone-throwers, and behind all the rest the archers, in order that the front ranks, fighting at close range, should hold back their antagonists, while the others from a distance should bring their strength into play over the heads of those in front. As for his flanks, he was protected on the left and on the right respectively by the cliffs on the side of the sea and by the forest, which was impenetrable. Thus he arrayed his army; and he stationed the baggage-carriers in the rear, so that none of the troops would be able to flee even if they wished. Anullinus, seeing this, placed his heavy-armed troops in front and behind them all his light-armed forces, in order that the latter by discharging their weapons from a distance over the heads of the others should hold back the enemy, while the men in front made the advance up the slope safe for them; his cavalry he sent with

[1] Cf. Xen., *Anab.* i. 4, 4.

μετὰ Οὐαλεριανοῦ ἔπεμψε, τήν τε ὕλην τρόπον τινὰ περιελθεῖν καὶ κατὰ νώτου τοῖς Νιγρείοις 5 αἰφνίδιον ἐπιπεσεῖν κελεύσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς χεῖρας ᾔεσαν, τῶν Σεουηρείων τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰς μὲν προβαλομένων τὰς δὲ ἐπιβαλομένων[1] ἐς χελώνης τρόπον, καὶ οὕτω πλησιασάντων τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐγένετο μὲν ἰσόρροπος ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ Νίγρου πολὺ τῷ πλήθει σφῶν καὶ 6 τῇ τοῦ χωρίου φύσει προέσχον. κἂν παντελῶς ἐκράτησαν, εἰ μὴ νέφη ἐξ αἰθρίας καὶ ἄνεμος ἐκ νηνεμίας βρονταί τε σκληραὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ ὀξεῖαι μεθ' ὑετοῦ λάβρου κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς προσέπεσον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Σεουηρείους ἅτε καὶ κατόπιν ὄντα[2] οὐκ ἐλύπει ταῦτα, τοὺς δὲ Νιγρείους ἐμπίπτοντα ἐξ ἐναντίας 7 ἰσχυρῶς ἐτάραττε. μέγιστον δ' αὕτη[3] ἡ συντυχία τοῦ γενομένου τοῖς μὲν θάρσος ὡς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θείου βοηθουμένοις, τοῖς δὲ δέος ὡς καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολεμουμένοις ἐμβαλοῦσα τοὺς μὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπέρρωσε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὴν 8 δύναμιν ἐξεφόβησε· καί σφισι φεύγουσιν ἤδη ὁ Οὐαλεριανὸς ἐπεφάνη. ἰδόντες οὖν αὐτὸν ἀνάπαλιν ἐτράποντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τοῦ Ἀνυλλίνου σφᾶς ἀνακόψαντος ἀνέστρεψαν· εἶτ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω διατρέχοντες, ὅπῃ διαπέσοιεν, ἐπλανῶντο.

8 Καὶ φθόρον δὴ τοῦτον πλεῖστον ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ συνέβη γενέσθαι· δύο γὰρ μυριάδες τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Νίγρου διώλοντο. καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα τὸ τοῦ 2 ἱερέως ὄναρ ἐδήλου· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Παννονίᾳ ὄντος τοῦ

[1] προβαλομένων . . . ἐπιβαλομένων Bk., προβαλλομένων . . . ἐπιβαλλομένων VC.
[2] ὄντα Reim., ὄντας VC. [3] αὕτη H. Steph., αὐτη VC.

Valerianus, ordering them to get around the forest A.D. 194 as best they could and fall suddenly upon the troops of Niger from the rear. When they came to close quarters, the soldiers of Severus held their shields some in front of them and some above their heads, so as to form a *testudo,* and in this manner they approached the enemy. The battle was indecisive for a long time, but at length Niger's forces proved distinctly superior, thanks both to their numbers and to the terrain. They would have been completely victorious had it not been for the fact that clouds gathered out of a clear sky, a wind sprang up after a calm, and there followed heavy thunder-claps, sharp lightnings, and a violent rain-storm, all of which they had to face. This did not trouble Severus' troops, as it was at their backs; but it caused great confusion to Niger's men, since it was directly in their faces. Most of all, this opportune coming of the storm inspired courage in the one side, which believed it was being aided by Heaven, and fear in the other, which felt that Heaven was warring against it; thus it made the one army strong beyond its own strength, and terrified the other in spite of its real power; and as the forces of Niger were already taking to flight, Valerianus came in sight. Upon seeing him, they faced about again, and then, when Anullinus beat them back, they once more turned round. Then, running this way and that, wherever they could break through, they wandered about the country.

This proved to be the greatest disaster of the war; for twenty thousand of Niger's followers perished. And this evidently was the meaning of the priest's dream. It seems that while Severus was

Σεουήρου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς ὄναρ εἶδεν ἄνδρα τινὰ μέλανα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἐσβιαζόμενον καὶ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀπολλύμενον· τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ Νίγρου ἐξελληνίζοντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν μέλανα
3 ἐκεῖνον εἶναι ἔγνωσαν. ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔφυγε μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὡς πρὸς τὸν Εὐφράτην ὁ Νίγρος, διανοούμενος ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους φυγεῖν, ἑάλω δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν καταδιωξάντων καὶ ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλήν. καὶ ταύτην ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον πέμψας ἀνεσταύρωσεν, ἵν' ἰδόντες αὐτὴν[1] οἱ Βυζάντιοι προσχωρήσωσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σεουῆρος τοὺς τὰ τοῦ Νίγρου φρονήσαντας ἐδικαίου.—Xiph. 297, 5—299, 9 R. St.

4 Ὅτι ὁ Σεουῆρος τὰς πόλεις τούς τε ἰδιώτας τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλαζε τοὺς δὲ ἠμείβετο, τῶν δὲ δὴ βουλευτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπέκτεινε μὲν οὐδένα, τοὺς δὲ δὴ πλείους τὰς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο καὶ ἐς νήσους κατέκλεισεν. ἠργυρολόγησέ τε δεινῶς· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὅσα τῷ Νίγρῳ καὶ ἰδιῶταί τινες καὶ δῆμοι, οὐχ ὅτι ἑκούσιοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαστοί,
5 ἐδεδώκεσαν, τετραπλάσια ἐπεσέπραξεν. καὶ ᾐσθάνετο μέν που καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο,[2] πολλῶν δὲ δὴ χρημάτων χρῄζων ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τὰ θρυλούμενα ἐποιεῖτο.—Exc. Val. 342 (p. 734).

9 Κάσσιος δὲ Κλήμης βουλευτὴς παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Σεουήρῳ κρινόμενος οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλ' ὧδέ[3] πως ἐπαρρησιάσατο. "ἐγὼ" ἔφη "οὔτε σὲ οὔτε Νίγρον ἠπιστάμην, καταληφθεὶς[4] δὲ δὴ[5] ἐν

[1] αὐτὴν Zon., αὐτόν VC.

[2] Some words have probably been lost before τοῦτο. Bekker supplied κακηγορούμενος διά.

in Pannonia the priest of Jupiter in a dream saw A.D. 194 a black man force his way into the emperor's camp and come to his death by violence; and by interpreting the name of Niger people recognized that he was the black man in question. Upon the capture of Antioch not long after this, Niger fled from there toward the Euphrates, intending to make his escape to the barbarians; but his pursuers overtook him and cut off his head. Severus caused the head to be sent to Byzantium and to be set up on a pole, that the sight of it might induce the Byzantines to join his cause. After this he proceeded to punish those who had belonged to Niger's party.

As for the various cities and private citizens, Severus punished some and rewarded others; of the Roman senators he slew none, but deprived most of them of their property and confined them on islands. He was merciless in his raising of funds; thus, for example, he exacted four times the amount that any individuals or peoples had given to Niger, whether they had done so voluntarily or under compulsion. He himself doubtless perceived [that he was ill spoken of because of] this, but, as he required large sums of money, he paid no attention to what people said.

Cassius Clemens, a senator, when on trial before Severus himself, did not conceal the truth, but freely expressed his mind, to this general effect: "I," he said, "was acquainted with neither you nor Niger, but, finding myself in the midst of his partisans, I

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[3] ὧδε Leuncl., ὧδι VC.
[4] καταληφθεὶς Zon. BCEc, καταλειφθεὶς VC Zon. A.
[5] δὴ R. St., δὴν VC.

τῇ ἐκείνου μερίδι τὸ παρὸν ἀναγκαίως ἐθεράπευσα, οὐχ ὡς σοὶ πολεμήσων ἀλλ' ὡς Ἰουλιανὸν κατα-
2 λύσων. οὔτ' οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τι ἠδίκησα, τὰ αὐτά σοι κατ' ἀρχὰς σπουδάσας, οὔθ' ὅτι μὴ πρὸς σὲ ὕστερον, ἐγκαταλιπὼν ὃν ἅπαξ[1] ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἔλαχον,[2] μετέστην· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σὺ τῶν παρακαθημένων σοι καὶ συνδικαζόντων τούτων οὐδένα ἂν ἠθέλησας προδόντα σε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον
3 αὐτομολῆσαι. ἐξέταζε οὖν μὴ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μηδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα. πᾶν γὰρ ὅ τι ἂν ἡμῶν καταγνῷς, τοῦτο καὶ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἑταίρων καταψηφιῇ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὰ μάλιστα μήτε δίκῃ μήτ' ἀποφάσει τινὶ ἁλώσῃ, ἀλλὰ τῇ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φήμῃ, ἧς ἐς ἀΐδιον μνήμη καταλελείψεται,[3] δόξεις † ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς
4 συνέβη[4] † ἑτέροις ἐγκαλεῖν." τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὁ Σεουῆρος τῆς παρρησίας θαυμάσας, τὴν ἡμίσειαν αὐτῷ τῆς οὐσίας ἔχειν συνεχώρησεν.—Xiph. 299, 9–25 R. St.

Ὅτι συχνοὶ ὡς καὶ τὰ τοῦ Νίγρου φρονήσαντες, καὶ τῶν οὔτ' ἰδόντων ποτὲ αὐτὸν οὔτε συναραμένων οἱ, ἐπηρεάσθησαν.—Exc. Val. 343 (p. 737).

10 Οἱ δὲ δὴ Βυζάντιοι καὶ ζῶντος τοῦ Νίγρου καὶ τελευτήσαντος πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἔδρασαν. ἡ δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἐν καιρῷ πάνυ καὶ τῶν ἠπείρων καὶ τῆς διὰ μέσου σφῶν θαλάσσης κεῖται, τῇ τε τοῦ χωρίου ἅμα καὶ τῇ τοῦ Βοσπόρου φύσει
2 ἰσχυρῶς παρεσκευασμένη. αὐτή τε γὰρ ἐπὶ μετεώρου πεπόλισται, προέχουσα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν·

[1] ὃν ἅπαξ Rk., ἅπαξ ὃν VC.
[2] ἔλαχον Bk., ἔλαβον VC.
[3] καταλελείψεται St., καταλείψεται VC.

was constrained to look to the moment, not with the purpose of fighting you, but of deposing Julianus. I therefore did nothing wrong, either in this respect, since I strove in the beginning for the same ends as you, nor, later, in refusing to desert the master once given me by the will of Heaven and to come over to you. For you would not have liked it, either, to have any of these men who are sitting with you here in judgment betray you and desert to him. Do not, then, investigate our persons or our names, but the facts themselves. For in every point in which you condemn us you will be passing sentence against both yourself and your associates; since, however secure you may be from conviction in any suit or verdict, nevertheless, in your reputation with mankind, the memory of which will last for ever, you will be represented as bringing against others the very charges to which you yourself are liable." Severus admired the man for his frankness, and allowed him to retain half his property. A.D. 194

Many who had never even seen Niger and had not joined his faction were dealt with harshly on the ground that they had favoured his cause.

The Byzantines performed many remarkable deeds both while Niger was still living and after his death. Their city is most favourably situated in relation both to the two continents and to the sea that lies between them, and possesses strong defences both in the lie of the land and in the nature of the Bosporus. For the city is built on high ground and juts out

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[4] Corrupt. *ἐφ' οἷς σὺ ἐνέχῃ* was proposed by Bekker, but *ἐφ'* is objectionable with *ἐνέχῃ*. Perhaps *ἐν οἷς* (or simply *οἷς*) *ἐνέχῃ* should be read; also *ταὐτά* for *ταῦτα* (so Reimar).

καὶ ἐκείνη χειμάρρου δίκην ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου καταθέουσα τῇ τε ἄκρᾳ προσπίπτει, καὶ μέρει μέν τινι ἐς τὰ δεξιὰ ἀποτρέπεται κἀνταῦθα τόν τε κόλπον καὶ τοὺς λιμένας ποιεῖ, τῷ δὲ δὴ πλείονι πρὸς τὴν Προποντίδα παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν
3 *πολλῇ σπουδῇ χωρεῖ. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ τείχη καρτερώτατα εἶχον. ὅ τε γὰρ θώραξ αὐτῶν λίθοις τετραπέδοις παχέσι συνῳκοδόμητο, πλαξὶ χαλκαῖς συνδουμένοις, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν*[1] *καὶ χώμασι καὶ οἰκοδομήμασιν ὠχύρωτο, ὥστε καὶ ἓν τεῖχος παχὺ τὸ πᾶν εἶναι δοκεῖν, καὶ ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ περίδρομον καὶ στεγανὸν καὶ εὐφύλακτον*
4 *ὑπάρχειν. πύργοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι ἔξω τε ἐκκείμενοι καὶ θυρίδας πέριξ ἐπαλλήλας ἔχοντες ἦσαν, ὥστε τοὺς προσβάλλοντας τῷ κύκλῳ ἐντὸς αὐτῶν ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι· δι ὀλίγου τε γὰρ καὶ οὐ κατ' εὐθύ, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῇ οἱ δὲ τῇ σκολιώτερον ᾠκοδομημένοι, πᾶν τὸ προσπῖπτόν σφισιν ἐνεκυ-*
5 *κλοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ δὴ περιβόλου τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῆς ἠπείρου*[2] *μέγα ὕψος ἦρτο,*[3] *ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀμύνασθαι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ ἧττον· αἵ τε γὰρ πέτραι ἐφ' ὧν ἐπῳκοδόμηντο καὶ ἡ τοῦ Βοσπόρου δεινότης θαυμαστῶς σφίσι συνεμάχουν. οἵ τε λιμένες ἐντὸς τείχους ἀμφότεροι κλειστοὶ ἁλύσεσιν ἦσαν, καὶ αἱ χηλαὶ αὐτῶν πύργους ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πολὺ προέχοντας ἔφερον, ὥστ' ἄπορον τῷ πολεμίῳ*[4] *τὸν πρόσπλουν*
6 *ποιεῖν. τὸ δ' ὅλον ὁ Βόσπορός σφας μέγιστα*

[1] *αὐτῶν* Zon., *αὐτοῦ* VC.
[2] *πρὸς*? (corr. from *πρὸ*?) *τῆς ἠπείρου* C, *πρὸ τῆς ἠπείρου* V, *πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον* Zon.
[3] *μέγα ὕψος ἦρτο* Bs., *μέγα ὕψος* VC, *ἐς μέγα ὕψος ἦρτο* Zon.

into the sea; and the latter, rushing down from the A.D. 191 Euxine like a mountain torrent and hurling itself against the headland, is diverted in part to the right, forming there the bay and the harbours, but the greater part of the water flows on with great speed past the city itself toward the Propontis. Moreover, their walls were very strong. The breastwork of the walls was constructed of massive squared stones fastened together by bronze plates, and on the inside they were strengthened with mounds and buildings, so that the whole seemed to be one thick wall on top of which there was a covered passageway easy of defence. There were many large towers constructed on the outside of the wall and provided with windows set close together on every side, so that anyone assailing the wall would be intercepted between them; for as they were built at short intervals and not in a straight line, but some here and some there along a rather crooked circuit, they were bound to command any attacking party from every side. The sections of the wall on the land side were raised to a great height, so as to repel even any chance assailants from that quarter, but the portions along the sea were lower; for there the rocks on which the walls were built and the dangerous character of the Bosporus proved wonderfully effective allies for the Byzantines. The harbours within the wall had both been closed with chains and their breakwaters carried towers that jutted far out on either side, making approach impossible for the enemy. In a word, the Bosporus is of the greatest

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[4] πολεμίῳ Blancus (in vers.), πολέμῳ VC.

ὠφελεῖ· ἀνάγκη γὰρ πᾶσα, ἂν ἅπαξ τις ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐμπέσῃ, καὶ ἄκοντα αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐκπεσεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ μὲν φίλῳ ἥδιστόν ἐστι, τῷ δὲ ἐναντίῳ ἀπορώτατον.

11 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐτετείχιστο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ μηχαναὶ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ τείχους ποικιλώταται ἦσαν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας καὶ πέτρας καὶ δοκοὺς ἐνέβαλλον,[1] τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας καὶ λίθους καὶ βέλη δόρατά τε ἠφίεσαν, ὥστε ἐντὸς πολλοῦ χωρίου μηδένα αὐτῶν ἀκινδύνως πελάσαι δύ-2 νασθαι· ἁρπάγας[2] τε ἕτεραι ἔχουσαι καὶ καθίεντο ἐξαπιναίως καὶ ἀνέσπων διὰ βραχέος καὶ πλοῖα καὶ μηχανήματα. Πρίσκος πολίτης ἐμὸς τὰ πλείω αὐτῶν ἐτεκτήνατο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θανάτου τε ἅμα ὦφλε καὶ ἐσώθη· ὁ γὰρ Σεουῆρος τὴν τέχνην αὐτοῦ μαθὼν ἐκώλυσεν αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν, κἀκ τούτου ἔς τε ἄλλα τινὰ αὐτῷ ἐχρήσατο καὶ ἐς τὴν τῶν Ἄτρων πολιορκίαν, καὶ μόνα γε τὰ ἐκείνου μηχανήματα οὐκ ἐκαύθη ὑπὸ τῶν 3 βαρβάρων. καὶ πλοῖα δὲ τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πεντακόσια, τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα[3] μονήρη, ἔστι δ' ἃ καὶ δίκροτα, κατεσκεύαστο ἐμβόλους ἔχοντα· καί τινα αὐτῶν ἑκατέρωθεν καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρῴρας πηδαλίοις ἤσκητο καὶ κυβερνήτας ναύτας τε διπλοῦς εἶχεν, ὅπως αὐτοὶ μὴ ἀναστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἐπιπλέωσι καὶ ἀναχωρῶσι, καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ ἐν τῷ πρόσπλῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπόπλῳ σφῶν σφάλλωσι.

12 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἔδρασαν καὶ ἔπαθον οἱ

[1] ἐνέβαλλον H. Steph., ἐνέβαλον VC.
[2] ἁρπάγας Leuncl., ἅρπαγας V, ἁρπαγάς C.

advantage to the inhabitants; for it is absolutely A.D. 194 inevitable that, once anyone gets into its current, he will be cast up on the land in spite of himself. This is a condition most satisfactory to friends, but most embarrassing to enemies.

It was thus that Byzantium had been fortified; and in addition there were engines in the greatest variety along the entire length of the wall. Some, for example, hurled rocks and wooden beams upon any who drew near, and others discharged stones and other missiles and spears against such as stood at a distance, with the result that over a considerable area none could come near them without danger. Still others had hooks, which they would let down suddenly and so draw up ships and machines through the short intervening space. Priscus, a fellow-countryman of mine, designed most of the engines, and for this very reason was both condemned to death and spared; for Severus, learning of his skill, prevented his execution, and later made use of his services on various occasions, especially at the siege of Hatra, where his machines were the only ones not burned by the barbarians. The Byzantines had also got ready five hundred ships, most of them with one bank of oars, but some with two, and all equipped with beaks. Some of them were provided with rudders at both ends, at the prow as well as at the stern, and had a double complement of helmsmen and sailors, in order that they might both attack and retire without turning round and might outmanœuvre their opponents both in advancing and in retreating.

Many, now, were the exploits and the experiences

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[3] τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα Zon., τὸν μὲν πλεῖστον V, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον C.

Βυζάντιοι, ἅτε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὡς εἰπεῖν στόλοις ἐπὶ ὅλον τριετῆ χρόνον πολιορκούμενοι· λελέξεται δὲ ὀλίγα καὶ τὰ ἐχόμενά τινος θαύματος. ᾕρουν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πλοῖά τινα παραπλέοντα εὐκαίρως ἐπιτιθέμενοι, ᾕρουν δὲ καὶ τριήρεις τῶν 2 ἐν τῷ ὅρμῳ τῶν ἐναντίων οὐσῶν. τὰς γὰρ ἀγκύρας αὐτῶν ὑφύδροις κολυμβηταῖς ὑποτέμνοντες, καὶ ἥλους[1] ἐς τοὺς ταρσούς σφων, καλωδίοις ἐκ τῆς φιλίας ἐκδεδεμένους, ἐμπηγνύντες, ἐπεσπῶντο, ὥστ' αὐτὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν αὐτομάτας προσπλεούσας ὁρᾶσθαι, μήτ' ἐρέτου μήτ' ἀνέμου μηδενὸς ἐπι-3 σπέρχοντος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐθελονταί τινες ἔμποροι, ὡς καὶ ἄκοντες, ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡλίσκοντο, καὶ τὰ ἀγώγιμα μεγάλων χρημάτων πωλήσαντες ἐξέπλεον ἐκδιδράσκοντες.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντων αὐτοῖς ἐκδαπανηθέντων τῶν ἔνδον ἐς τὸ[2] στενὸν κομιδῇ τῶν τε πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐληλύθεσαν, 4 πρότερον μέν, καίπερ πάνυ πιεζόμενοι ἅτε καὶ τῶν ἔξω πάντων ἀποκεκλειμένοι,[3] ὅμως ἀντεῖχον, καὶ ἔς τε τὰς ναῦς τοῖς τε ξύλοις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ ταῖς θριξὶ ταῖς τῶν[4] γυναικῶν, σχοινία ἀπ' αὐτῶν πλέκοντες, ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ὁπότε τινὲς τῷ τείχει προσβάλοιεν, τούς τε λίθους σφίσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ ἵππους χαλκοῦς καὶ 5 ἀνδριάντας χαλκοῦς ὅλους ἐπερρίπτουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ τροφή σφας ἐπέλιπεν ἡ νενομισμένη καὶ δέρματα διαβρέχοντες ἤσθιον, εἶτα καὶ ταῦτα καταναλώθη, οἱ μὲν πλείους ἐξέπλευσαν, τηρή-

[1] ἥλους Zon., ἥλοις VC.
[2] τό Leuncl., οἱ VC.
[3] ἀποκεκλειμένοι Dind., ἀποκεκλεισμένοι VC.
[4] τῶν Bk., ἐκ τῶν VC.

of the Byzantines, since for the entire space of three A.D. 194 years they were besieged by the armaments of practically the whole world. I shall relate a few of the incidents that were in any way marvellous. They used to capture not only ships that were sailing past, by making opportune attacks, but also triremes that were in their opponents' roadstead. They accomplished this by causing divers to cut their anchors under water and drive into the ships' sides nails that were attached by ropes to the friendly shore; then they would draw the ships towards them, so that these appeared to be sailing up all by themselves, of their own accord, with neither oarsman nor wind to urge them forward. There were even instances in which traders purposely allowed themselves to be captured by the Byzantines, though they pretended it was against their will, and after selling their wares for a great price, made their escape by sea.

When all the supplies in the city had been consumed and both their fortunes and the hopes based thereon had been reduced to extreme straits, at first, even though they were in dire distress, cut off as they were from all outside aid, they nevertheless continued to resist. For their ships they used timbers taken from the houses and braided ropes made of the hair of their women; and as often as any of the foe assaulted the wall, they would hurl down upon them the stones from the theatres and whole bronze horses and statues of bronze. When even their customary food failed them, they proceeded to soak hides and eat them. Then, when these, too, were used up, the greater part of the population, after waiting for a storm and rough

σαντες ζάλην καὶ καταιγίδα ὥστε μηδένα ἀνταναχθῆναί σφισιν, ἵν' ἢ ἀπόλωνται ἢ ἐπισιτίσωνται, καὶ προσπίπτοντες ἀπροσδοκήτως τοῖς ἀγροῖς πάνθ' ὁμοίως ἐλῄζοντο, οἱ δ' ὑπολειπόμενοι
6 δεινότατον ἔργον ἔδρασαν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐτράποντο καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγεύοντο.

13 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπεὶ τὰ σκάφη καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν κατεγέμισαν, ἦραν χειμῶνα μέγαν καὶ τότε ἐπιτηρήσαντες. οὐ μὴν καὶ ὤναντό γε αὐτοῦ· οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι καταβαρεῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ βραχὺ πάνυ τοῦ
2 ὕδατος ὑπερέχοντας ἰδόντες ἀντανήχθησαν, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐσκεδασμένοις, ὥς που καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ ὁ κλύδων ἦγε, προσπίπτοντες ναυμαχίας μὲν οὐδὲν ἔργον ἔσχον, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖα αὐτῶν ἀφειδῶς ἔκοπτον, πολλὰ μὲν τοῖς κοντοῖς ὠθοῦντες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις ἀναρρηγνύντες, ἔστι δ' ἃ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ προσβολῇ σφῶν ἀνατρέποντες.
3 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δρᾶσαι μὲν οὐδέν,[1] οὐδ' εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ἤθελον, ἠδύναντο· διαφυγεῖν δέ πῃ πειρώμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, ἀπλήστως αὐτῷ χρώμενοι, ἐβαπτίζοντο, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων καταλαμ-
4 βανόμενοι διώλλυντο. θεώμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ τέως μὲν ἐθεοκλύτουν καὶ ἐπεβόων ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι[2] τοῖς γινομένοις, ὡς ἑκάστῳ τι τῆς θέας ἐκείνης ἢ τοῦ πάθους προσέπιπτεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πανσυδὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπολλυμένους εἶδον, τότε δὴ

[1] οὐδέν R. Steph., οὐθέν VC. [2] ἄλλοι Dind., ἄλλοις VC.

water, so that no one could put out against them, A.D. 194 sailed away with the determination either to perish or to secure provisions; and falling upon the countryside without warning, they plundered everything indiscriminately. Those who were left behind did a monstrous thing; for when they were reduced to the last extremity, they had recourse to themselves and devoured one another. Such was the condition in which these people found themselves.

The rest, when they had laden their boats with even more than these could bear, set sail, after waiting this time also for a great storm. They did not succeed, however, in profiting by it; for the Romans, observing that their vessels were overheavy and weighted down almost to the water's edge, put out against them. So they fell upon the craft, which were scattered about as wind and wave carried them, and what followed was anything but a naval battle; for they simply battered the enemy's boats mercilessly, thrusting at many of them with their boat-hooks, ripping many open with their beaks, and even capsizing some by their mere onset. The people in the boats were unable to do anything, however much they might wish; and when they attempted to escape anywhere, they would either be sunk by the force of the wind, to which they spread their sails to the full, or else would be overtaken by the enemy and destroyed. The people in Byzantium, as they watched this scene, for a time kept calling on the gods for help, and uttering various shouts at the different incidents, according as each one was affected by the spectacle or the disaster. But when they saw their friends perishing all together, the united throng sent up

ἀθρόοι καὶ ἀνῴμωξαν καὶ ἀνεθρήνησαν, κἀκ τούτου τό τε λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὴν νύκτα 5 πᾶσαν ἐπένθουν. τοσαῦτα γὰρ τὰ πάντα ναυάγια ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξενεχθῆναί τινα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἧττάν σφων, καὶ πρὶν ἀκουσθῆναι, γνωσθῆναι. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τοῖς Βυζαντίοις ἐπὶ μεῖζον τὸ δεινὸν 6 ηὐξήθη· ὡς γὰρ ὁ κλύδων ἐστόρεστο, πᾶσα ἡ θάλασσα ἡ πρὸς τῷ Βυζαντίῳ καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυαγίων καὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἐπληρώθη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐξεβράσθη, ὥστε καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἐκ τῆς ὄψεώς σφων τὸ δεινὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου φανῆναι.

14 Παρέδοσαν μὲν οὖν αὐτίκα τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἄκοντες οἱ Βυζάντιοι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει διεχρήσαντο . . .[1] πάντας, πλὴν τοῦ πύκτου ὃς πολλὰ τοὺς Βυζαντίους ὠφέλησε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἔβλαψεν· οὗτος γὰρ παραχρῆμα πύξ τε παίσας τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινὰ καὶ ἑτέρῳ λὰξ ἐνθορών, ὅπως ὀργισθέντες διαφθείρωσιν αὐτόν, προαπώλετο.[2] 2 ὁ δὲ Σεουῆρος οὕτως ἥσθη ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλώσει τοῦ Βυζαντίου ὡς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ τότε ὤν, αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, "εἵλομεν 3 δὲ καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον." ἔπαυσε δὲ τὴν πόλιν τῆς τε ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος τοῦ πολιτικοῦ, καὶ δασμοφόρον ἀποφήνας τάς τε οὐσίας τῶν πολιτῶν δημεύσας, αὐτήν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῆς Περινθίοις ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνοι οἷα κώμῃ

[1] Lacuna recognized by Reim., who supplied τοὺς δ' ἄλλους διέσωσαν.

a chorus of groans and lamentations, and after that A.D. 194 they mourned for the rest of the day and the whole night.[1] The total number of the wrecks proved so great that some drifted on the islands and the Asiatic coast, and the defeat became known by these relics before it had been heard of. The next day the horror was increased still more for the townspeople; for when the waves had subsided, the whole sea in the vicinity of Byzantium was covered with corpses and wrecks and blood, and many of the remains were cast up on shore, with the result that their disaster appeared even worse to their eyes than it had been in reality.

The Byzantines, accordingly, were constrained to surrender the city at once. The Romans put to death all the soldiers and magistrates, [but spared all the rest] except the pugilist who had greatly aided the Byzantines and injured the Romans. He perished at the very outset; for, in order to make the soldiers angry enough to kill him, he promptly struck one of them with his fist and leaped upon another with his heels. Severus was so pleased at the capture of Byzantium that he blurted out the fact to his soldiers in Mesopotamia, where he was at the time: "We have taken Byzantium, too." He deprived the city of its independence and of its proud position as a state, and made it tributary, confiscating the property of the citizens. He granted the city and its territory to the Perinthians, and they, treating it like a village, visited every kind of

[1] Compare Thucydides' account (vii. 71) of the naval battle in the Great Harbour of Syracuse.

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[2] προαπώλετο Bk., προσαπώλετο VC.

4 χρώμενοι οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχ ὕβριζον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δικαίως πως ποιῆσαι ἔδοξε· τὰ δὲ δὴ τείχη τῆς πόλεως διαλύσας ἐκείνους μὲν οὐδὲν πλέον τῆς στερήσεως τῆς δόξης, ἣν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιδείξεως αὐτῶν ἐκαρποῦντο, ἐλύπησε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίων μέγα καὶ φυλακτήριον καὶ ὁρμητήριον πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας βαρβάρους καθεῖλε.
5 καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ τά τε τείχη πεπτωκότα ὥσπερ ὑπ' ἄλλων τινῶν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἑαλωκότα, ἐτεθεάμην δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἑστηκότα καὶ ἠκηκόειν αὐτῶν καὶ λαλούντων. ἑπτὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκίων πυλῶν πύργοι καθήκοντες[1] πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἦσαν, τούτων δ' εἰ μέν τις ἄλλῳ τῳ
6 προσέμιξεν, ἥσυχος ἦν, εἰ δὲ δὴ τῷ πρώτῳ ἐνεβόησέ τινα ἢ καὶ λίθον ἐνέρριψεν,[2] αὐτός τε ἤχει καὶ[3] ἐλάλει καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν παρεδίδου, καὶ οὕτω διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐχώρει, οὐδὲ ἐπετάραττον ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει πάντες, παρὰ τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἕτερος, τήν τε ἠχὴν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν διεδέχοντό τε καὶ παρεπέμποντο.

LXXV Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ τῶν Βυζαντίων τείχη ἦν,
1, 1 Σεουῆρος δέ, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα ἐπολιορκεῖτο, κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιθυμίᾳ δόξης ἐστράτευσε, τῶν τε Ὀρροηνῶν[4] καὶ τῶν Ἀδιαβηνῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀραβίων.—Xiph. 299, 25—303, 21 R. St.

2 Ὅτι οἱ Ὀρροηνοὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀδιαβηνοὶ ἀποστάντες καὶ Νίσιβιν πολιορκοῦντες, καὶ ἡττηθέντες ὑπὸ Σεουήρου, ἐπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Νίγρου θάνατον, οὐχ ὅπως ὡς καὶ ἠδικη-

[1] καθήκοντες Suid., καθεστηκότες VC Zon.
[2] ἐνέρριψεν VC, προσέρριψεν Zon., ἔρρηξεν Suid.

insult upon it. Thus far he seemed, in a way, to be justified in what he did; but in demolishing the walls of the city he failed to cause the inhabitants any greater grief than was involved in the loss of the glory which they had derived from the displaying of their walls; whereas he did destroy a strong Roman outpost and base of operations against the barbarians from Pontus and Asia. I myself saw the walls after they had fallen, looking as if they had been captured by some other people rather than by the Romans. I had also seen them standing and had even heard them "talk." I should explain that there were seven towers extending from the Thracian Gates to the sea, and if a person approached any of these but the first, it was silent; but if he shouted anything at that one or threw a stone against it, it not only echoed and "spoke" itself, but also caused the second to do the same; and thus the sound continued from one to another through the whole seven, and they did not interrupt one another, but all in their proper turn, as each received the sound from the one before it, took up the echo and the voice and sent it on. A.D. 194

Such were the walls of Byzantium. But while this siege was going on, Severus, out of a desire for glory, made a campaign against the barbarians—against the Osroëni, the Adiabeni, and the Arabians. A.D. 195

The Osroëni and the Adiabeni had revolted and laid siege to Nisibis, and had been defeated by Severus; but now, after Niger's death, they sent an embassy to him, not, indeed, to ask his pardon,

[3] ἤχει καὶ Suid. Cedr., μηχανῇ τινι VC Zon.
[4] Ὀρροηνῶν Bs., ὀσροηνῶν VC Zon.

κότες τι παραιτούμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεργεσίαν ἀπαιτοῦντες ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο πεποιηκότες· τοὺς γὰρ στρατιώτας τὰ τοῦ Νίγρου
3 *φρονήσαντας ἔλεγον*[1] *ἐκείνου ἕνεκα ἐφθαρκέναι. καί τινα καὶ δῶρα αὐτῷ ἔπεμψαν, τούς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὰ λάφυρα τὰ περιόντα ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τὰ τείχη ἃ ᾑρήκεσαν ἐκλιπεῖν οὔτε φρουροὺς*[2] *λαβεῖν ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐξαχθῆναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἠξίουν. διὰ ταῦτα ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος συνέστη.*—Exc. U^G 69 (p. 413).

2 *Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβὰς ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλεν, ἀνύδρου τῆς χώρας οὔσης ἄλλως τε δὴ*[3] *καὶ τότε πλέον ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἐξικμασμένης ἐκινδύνευσε παμπληθεῖς στρατιώτας ἀπο-*
2 *βαλεῖν· κεκμηκόσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς πορείας καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ κονιορτὸς ἐμπίπτων ἰσχυρῶς ἐλύπησεν, ὥστε μήτε βαδίζειν μήτε λαλεῖν ἔτι δύνασθαι, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον φθέγγεσθαι, "ὕδωρ ὕδωρ." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεφάνη μέν,*[4] *ἐξ ἴσου δὲ τῷ μὴ εὑρεθέντι ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ ἀτοπίας ἦν, ὁ Σεουῆρος κύλικά τε ᾔτησε καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος πληρώσας ἁπάν-*
3 *των ὁρώντων ἐξέπιε. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς προσπιόντες ἀνερρώσθησαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Νίσιβιν ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐλθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπέμεινε, Λατερανὸν*[5] *δὲ καὶ Κάνδιδον καὶ Λαῖτον ἐς τοὺς προειρημένους βαρβάρους ἄλλον ἄλλῃ ἀπέστειλε, καὶ ἐπερχόμενοι οὗτοι τήν τε χώραν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐδῄουν*

[1] *ἔλεγον* Urs., *ἔλαττον* MSS.
[2] *φρουροὺς* Bk., *φόρους* MSS.
[3] *δὴ* Reim., *δὲ* VC.
[4] *μέν* Bs., *μὲν ἰκμὰς* VC.

as if they had committed any wrong, but to demand reciprocal favours, pretending that they had acted as they had on his behalf; for they claimed it was for his sake that they had destroyed the soldiers who favoured Niger's cause. They also sent him some gifts and promised to restore the captives and whatever spoils there were still left; yet they were unwilling either to abandon the forts that they had captured or to receive garrisons, but actually demanded the removal from their country of such garrisons as still remained. It was this that led to the present war. A.D. 195

After crossing the Euphrates and invading the enemy's territory, where the country is always destitute of water and at that time by reason of the heat had become especially parched, he came very near losing a vast number of soldiers. For when they were already wearied by their march and by the hot sun, they encountered a dust-storm that caused them great distress, so that they could no longer march or even talk, but only cry, "Water! Water!" And when water did appear, on account of its strangeness it meant no more to them than if it had not been found at all,—until Severus called for a cup, and filling it with the water, drained it in full view of all; then, indeed, some others likewise drank and were refreshed. Afterwards Severus reached Nisibis, and tarrying there himself, sent Lateranus, Candidus, and Laetus in various directions among the barbarians named; and these generals upon reaching their goals proceeded to lay waste the barbarians' land and to capture their

[5] Λατερανὸν Reim., λατερνὸν VC.

4 καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐλάμβανον. μέγα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ Σεουήρῳ φρονοῦντι, ὡς καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ συνέσει καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ ὑπερβεβηκότι, πρᾶγμα παραδοξότατον συνηνέχθη· Κλαύδιος γάρ τις λῃστὴς καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν καὶ τὴν Συρίαν κατατρέχων καὶ πολλῇ διὰ τοῦτο σπουδῇ ζητούμενος, προσῆλθέ τε αὐτῷ ποτὲ μεθ' ἱππέων ὡς καὶ χιλίαρχός τις ὤν, καὶ ἠσπάσατο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐφίλησε, καὶ οὔτε εὐθὺς ἐφωράθη οὔθ' ὕστερον συνελήφθη.—Xiph. 303, 21—304, 8 R. St.

1 Ὅτι οἱ Ἀράβιοι, ἐπειδὴ μηδείς σφισι τῶν πλησιοχώρων βοηθῆσαι ἠθέλησε πρὸς Σεουῆρον αὖθις ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, ἐπιεικέστερά τινα προτεινόμενοι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔτυχον ὧν ἐβούλοντο, ἐπειδὴ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦλθον.—Exc. U^G 70 (p. 414).

3 Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ τοὺς Σκύθας πολεμησείοντας βρονταί τε καὶ ἀστραπαὶ μετ' ὄμβρου καὶ κεραυνοὶ βουλευομένοις σφίσιν ἐξαίφνης ἐμπεσόντες, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἀποκτείναντες, ἐπέσχον.

2 Ὁ δὲ Σεουῆρος αὖθις τρία τέλη τοῦ στρατοῦ ποιήσας, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῷ Λαίτῳ τὸ[1] δὲ τῷ Ἀνυλλίνῳ καὶ τῷ Πρόβῳ δούς, ἐπὶ τὴν † Ἀρχὴν[2] † ἐξέπεμψε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτην, τριχῇ ἐσβαλόντες, οὐκ ἀμογητὶ ἐχειροῦντο· ὁ δὲ Σεουῆρος ἀξίωμα τῇ Νισίβει δοὺς ἱππεῖ ταύτην ἐπέτρεψεν, ἔλεγέ τε μεγάλην τέ τινα χώραν προσκεκτῆσθαι καὶ πρό-

3 βολον αὐτὴν τῆς Συρίας πεποιῆσθαι. ἐλέγχεται

[1] Either τὰ δὲ should be read with Bk., or καὶ <τὸ τρίτον> τῷ Πρόβῳ with Reim.

cities. While Severus was pluming himself on this achievement, as if he surpassed all mankind in both understanding and bravery, a most incredible thing happened. A certain robber named Claudius, who was overrunning Judaea and Syria and was being very vigorously pursued in consequence, came to him one day with some horsemen, like some military tribune, and saluted and kissed him; and he was neither discovered at the time nor caught later. A.D. 195

The Arabians, inasmuch as none of their neighbours was willing to aid them, sent envoys again to Severus with more reasonable offers; nevertheless, they did not obtain what they wanted, as they had not come along themselves.

The Scythians were in a mood for fighting at this time; but while they were consulting together, thunderings and lightnings, accompanied by rain, suddenly broke over them, and thunderbolts fell, killing their three chief men, and this restrained them. A.D. 196

Severus again made three divisions of his army, and giving one to Laetus, one to Anullinus, and one to Probus, sent them against † Arche; †[1] and they invaded it in three divisions and subdued it, yet not without difficulty. Severus bestowed some dignity upon Nisibis and entrusted the city to a knight. He used to declare that he had added a vast territory to the empire and had made it a bulwark of Syria. On the contrary, it is shown by

[1] The word is corrupt; Adiabene, Atrene and Arbelitis have all been suggested as the district meant.

[2] 'Αρχὴν corrupt; 'Ατρηνὴν or 'Αδιαβηνὴν was proposed by Reim., 'Αρβηλῖτιν by v. Gutschmid.

δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ πολέμων ἡμῖν συνεχῶν, ὡς καὶ δαπανημάτων πολλῶν, αἰτία οὖσα· δίδωσι μὲν γὰρ ἐλάχιστα, ἀναλίσκει δὲ παμπληθῆ, καὶ πρὸς ἐγγυτέρους καὶ τῶν Μήδων καὶ τῶν Πάρθων προσεληλυθότες ἀεὶ τρόπον τινὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μαχόμεθα.—Xiph. 304, 8–22 R. St.

the facts themselves that this conquest has been a source of constant wars and great expense to us. For it yields very little and uses up vast sums; and now that we have reached out to peoples who are neighbours of the Medes and Parthians rather than of ourselves, we are always, one might say, fighting the battles of those peoples.

A.D. 196

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVI

LXXV 4, 1 Τῷ δὲ Σεουήρῳ πόλεμος αὖθις, μήπω[1] ἐκ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἀναπνεύσαντι, ἐμφύλιος πρὸς τὸν Ἀλβῖνον τὸν Καίσαρα συνηνέχθη. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτῷ ἔτι ἐδίδου τιμήν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Νίγρον ἐκποδὼν ἐποιήσατο, τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἐβούλετο κατεστήσατο· ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐζήτει ὑπεροχήν. 2 συγκινουμένης οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡμεῖς μὲν οἱ βουλευταὶ ἡσυχίαν ἤγομεν, ὅσοι μὴ πρὸς τοῦτον ἢ ἐκεῖνον φανερῶς ἀποκλίναντες ἐκοινώνουν σφίσι καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων, ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησεν ἀλλ' ἐκφανέστατα κατωδύρατο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἡ τελευταία πρὸ τῶν Κρονίων ἱπποδρομία, καὶ συνέδραμεν ἐς αὐτὴν[2] ἄπλετόν τι χρῆμα ἀνθρώπων. 3 παρῆν δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ τῇ θέᾳ διὰ τὸν ὕπατον φίλον μου ὄντα, καὶ πάντα τὰ λεχθέντα ἀκριβῶς ἤκουσα, ὅθεν καὶ γράψαι τι περὶ αὐτῶν ἠδυνήθην. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. συνῆλθον μὲν ὥσπερ εἶπον ἀμύθητοι, καὶ τὰ ἅρματα ἑξαχῶς ἁμιλλώμενα ἐθεάσαντο, ὅπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κλεάνδρου[3] ἐγεγόνει, μηδὲν μηδένα παράπαν ἐπαινέσαντες, 4 ὅπερ εἴθισται· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνοί τε οἱ δρόμοι ἐπαύσαντο καὶ ἔμελλον οἱ ἡνίοχοι ἑτέρου ἀρ-

[1] μήπω R. Steph., μήπως V, μηπῶ C.
[2] αὐτὴν Leuncl., αὐτὸ VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVI

Before Severus had recovered from his conflicts with the barbarians he was involved in civil war with Albinus, his Caesar. For Severus would no longer give him even the rank of Caesar, now that he had got Niger out of the way and had settled other matters in that part of the world to his satisfaction; whereas Albinus aspired even to the pre-eminence of emperor. While, then, the entire world was disturbed by this situation, we senators remained quiet, at least as many of us as did not, by openly inclining to the one or the other, share their dangers and their hopes. The populace, however, could not restrain itself, but indulged in the most open lamentations. It was at the last horse-race before the Saturnalia, and a countless throng of people flocked to it. I, too, was present at the spectacle, since the consul was a friend of mine, and I heard distinctly everything that was said, so that I was in a position to write something about it. It came about on this wise. There had assembled, as I said, an untold multitude and they had watched the chariots racing, six at a time (which had been the practice also in Cleander's day), without applauding, as was their custom, any of the contestants at all. But when these races were over and the charioteers were about to begin another

A.D. 196

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[3] Κλεάνδρου C, κλεάρχου V.

ξασθαι, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη σιγάσαντες[1] ἀλλήλους ἐξαίφνης τάς τε χεῖρας πάντες ἅμα συνεκρότησαν καὶ προσεπεβόησαν, εὐτυχίαν τῇ τοῦ δήμου
5 σωτηρίᾳ αἰτούμενοι. εἶπόν τε τοῦτο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ βασιλίδα καὶ ἀθάνατον ὀνομάσαντες "μέχρι πότε τοιαῦτα πάσχομεν;" ἔκραξαν "καὶ μέχρι ποῦ πολεμούμεθα;" εἰπόντες δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τοιουτότροπα τέλος ἐξεβόησαν ὅτι "ταῦτά ἐστιν," καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν ἵππων ἐτράποντο. οὕτω μὲν ἔκ τινος θείας
6 ἐπιπνοίας ἐνεθουσίασαν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως τοσαῦται μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἤρξαντο τὰ αὐτὰ ἅμα ἀναβοᾶν ὥσπερ τις ἀκριβῶς χορὸς δεδιδαγμένος, οὔτ' εἶπον αὐτὰ ἀπταίστως ὡς καὶ μεμελετημένα. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς ἐτάραττε, καὶ πῦρ αἰφνίδιον νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ ἀέρι τῷ πρὸς βορρᾶν τοσοῦτον ὤφθη ὥστε τοὺς μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὅλην τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν
7 αὐτὸν καίεσθαι δοκεῖν. ὃ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα θαυμάσας ἔχω, ψεκὰς ἐν αἰθρίᾳ ἀργυροειδὴς ἐς τὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀγορὰν κατερρύη. φερομένην μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν οὐκ εἶδον, πεσούσης δὲ αὐτῆς ᾐσθόμην, καὶ κέρματά τινα ἀπ' αὐτῆς χαλκᾶ κατηργύρωσα, ἃ καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας τὴν αὐτὴν ὄψιν εἶχε· τῇ γὰρ τετάρτῃ πᾶν τὸ ἐπαλειφθὲν αὐτοῖς ἠφανίσθη.

5 Νουμεριανὸς δέ τις γραμματιστὴς τῶν τὰ παιδία γράμματα διδασκόντων, ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δόξαν αὐτῷ, ἀφορμηθείς, βουλευτής τε εἶναι τῶν Ῥωμαίων πλασάμενος καὶ ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ἄθροισιν ὑπὸ τοῦ

[1] σιγάσαντες Reim., σιγήσαντες VC.

event, they first enjoined silence upon one another A.D. 196 and then suddenly all clapped their hands at the same moment and also joined in a shout, praying for good fortune for the public welfare. This was what they first cried out; then, applying the terms "Queen" and "Immortal" to Rome, they shouted: "How long are we to suffer such things?" and "How long are we to be waging war?" And after making some other remarks of this kind, they finally shouted, "So much for that," and turned their attention to the horse-race. In all this they were surely moved by some divine inspiration; for in no other way could so many myriads of men have begun to utter the same shouts at the same time, like a carefully trained chorus, or have spoken the words without a mistake, just as if they had practised them. This demonstration was one thing that increased our apprehensions still more; another was the sudden appearance of such a great fire in the northern sky at night that some supposed the whole city was burning, and others that the very sky was afire. But what I marvelled at most was this: a fine rain resembling silver descended from a clear sky upon the Forum of Augustus. I did not, it is true, see it as it was falling, but noticed it after it had fallen, and by means of it I plated some bronze coins with silver; they retained the same appearance for three days, but by the fourth day all the substance rubbed on them had disappeared.

Numerianus, a schoolmaster who taught children their letters, set out from Rome for Gaul for some reason or other, and by pretending to be a Roman senator sent by Severus to raise an army, he col-

Σεουήρου πεμφθῆναι, συνήγαγέ τινα βραχεῖαν πρῶτον ἰσχύν, καί τινας τῶν τοῦ Ἀλβίνου ἱππέων διέφθειρε, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
2 Σεουήρου ἐνεανιεύσατο. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Σεουῆρος, καὶ νομίσας ὄντως τινὰ τῶν βουλευτῶν εἶναι, ἐπέστειλεν ἐπαινῶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ δύναμιν κελεύων πλείονα προσλαβεῖν· καὶ ὃς λαβὼν πλείονα δύναμιν ἄλλα τε θαυμαστὰ ἐπεδείξατο, καὶ χιλίας καὶ ἑπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας
3 δραχμῶν ἑλὼν τῷ Σεουήρῳ ἔπεμψε. νικήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σεουήρου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθὼν οὔτ' ἀπεκρύψατό τι οὔτ' ᾔτησεν ὡς ἀληθῶς βουλευτὴς γενέσθαι, καὶ τιμαῖς μεγάλαις πλούτῳ τε ἂν αὐξηθῆναι δυνηθεὶς οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγρῷ τινί, σμικρόν τι ἐφ' ἡμέραν λαμβάνων παρ' αὐτοῦ, διεβίω.

6 Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀγὼν τῷ τε Σεουήρῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀλβίνῳ[1] πρὸς τῷ Λουγδούνῳ τοιόσδε ἐγένετο. πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν μυριάδες στρατιωτῶν συναμφοτέροις ὑπῆρχον, παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἀμφότεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἅτε περὶ ψυχῆς θέοντες, καίτοι τοῦ Σεουήρου
2 μηδεμιᾷ πω μάχῃ ἑτέρᾳ παραγεγονότος. ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀλβῖνος καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ προήκων, ἅτερος δὲ τὰ[2] πολέμια κρείττων καὶ δεινὸς στρατηγῆσαι. συνέβη δὲ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον προτέρᾳ μάχῃ νικῆσαι τὸν Λοῦπον τῶν τοῦ Σεουήρου στρατηγῶν ὄντα, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ διαφθεῖραι στρατιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ τότε ἀγὼν
3 πολλὰς ἔσχεν ἰδέας τε καὶ τροπάς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ λαιὸν κέρας τοῦ Ἀλβίνου ἡττήθη τε καὶ κατέφυγεν ἐς τὸ ἔρυμα, καὶ οἱ Σεουήρειοι στρατιῶται διώκοντες συνεσέπεσον, καὶ ἐκείνους τε ἐφόνευον

lected a small force at first and killed a few of Albinus' cavalry, and also performed some other daring exploits in Severus' interest. Severus heard of it, and believing that he was really one of the senators, sent him a message commending him and bidding him increase his force. The man did so, and among other remarkable exhibitions of his prowess, he captured and sent to Severus seventy million sesterces. After the latter's victory Numerianus came to him, concealing naught nor yet asking to be made a senator in very truth; on the contrary, though he might have been exalted to great honours and wealth, he did not choose to accept them, but spent the remainder of his life in some country place, receiving a small allowance from the emperor for his daily needs. A.D. 196

The struggle between Severus and Albinus near Lugdunum must now be described. There were a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers on each side, and both leaders were present in the conflict, since it was a life-and-death struggle between them, though Severus had not previously been present at any other battle. Albinus excelled in family and education, but his adversary was superior in warfare and was a skilful commander. It chanced, however, that in an earlier battle Albinus had defeated Lupus, one of Severus' generals, and had slain many of his soldiers. The present conflict showed many phases and shifts of fortune. Thus, Albinus' left wing was defeated and fled back to the camp, and Severus' men, pursuing them, burst in with them and proceeded to slay them and to A.D. 197

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[1] Ἀλβίνῳ R. St., ἀλβιανῷ VC. [2] τὰ supplied by Rk.

καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς διήρπαζον. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ περὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τεταγμένοι τοῦ Ἀλβίνου στρατιῶται, κρυπτὰς τάφρους ἔχοντες πρὸ αὑτῶν[1] καὶ ὀρύγματα γῇ ἐπιπολαίως κεκαλυμμένα, μέχρι μὲν ἐκείνων προῄεσαν καὶ ἠκόντιζον πόρρωθεν, περαιτέρω δὲ οὐ προεχώρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς δεδιότες ἀνέστρεφον, ὅπως ἐπισπάσωνται τοὺς 4 ἐναντίους ἐς δίωξιν· ὃ δή ποτε καὶ ἐγένετο. ἀγανακτήσαντες γὰρ οἱ Σεουήρειοι πρὸς τὴν δι' ὀλίγου αὐτῶν ἐξόρμησιν, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες αὖ πρὸς τὴν ἐκ βραχέος ἀνάφευξιν, ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ παντὸς τοῦ μεταιχμίου σφῶν ἐμβατοῦ ὄντος, καὶ γενόμενοι κατὰ τὰς τάφρους 5 παθήματι δεινῷ συνηνέχθησαν· οἵ τε γὰρ πρωτοστάται καταρραγέντων εὐθὺς τῶν ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς ἐπικειμένων ἐς τὰ ὀρύγματα ἐνέπεσον, καὶ οἱ ἐπιτεταγμένοι σφίσιν ἐμπίπτοντες αὐτοῖς ἐσφάλλοντο καὶ κατέπιπτον, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δείσαντες ἀνεχώρουν ὀπίσω καὶ ἅτε ἐξαίφνης ἀναστρεφόμενοι αὐτοί τε ἔπταιον καὶ τοὺς οὐραγοῦντας ἀνέτρεπον, ὥστε καὶ ἐς φάραγγα αὐτοὺς βαθεῖαν 6 συνῶσαι. ἐγένετο[2] δὴ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν ἐς τὰς τάφρους πεσόντων φόνος πολὺς ἀναμὶξ ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν. ἐν δὲ τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ μεταξὺ τῆς τε φάραγγος καὶ τῶν τάφρων βαλλόμενοί τε καὶ τοξευόμενοι διεφθείροντο. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐπεκούρησε μὲν αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων, τοσούτου δὲ ἐδέησεν αὐτοὺς ὠφελῆσαι ὥστε καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους ὀλίγου δεῖν προσαπώλεσε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον ἀποβαλὼν 7 ἐκινδύνευσεν. ὡς δὲ εἶδε φεύγοντας πάντας τοὺς

[1] αὑτῶν R. Steph., αὐτῶν VC.

plunder their tents. In the meantime Albinus' troops on the right wing, having concealed trenches in front of them and pits covered over with earth on the surface, advanced as far as these pitfalls and hurled their javelins at long range; then, instead of continuing to go forward, they turned back, as if frightened, with the purpose of drawing their foes in pursuit. And this is exactly what happened. For Severus' men, nettled by their brief charge and despising them for their flight after so short an advance, rushed against them in the belief that the whole intervening distance was passable; but on reaching the trenches, they met with a terrible disaster. For the men in the front rank, as soon as the surface-covering was broken through, fell into the excavations, and those immediately behind stumbled over them, slipped, and likewise fell in; the rest drew back in terror, but their retreat was so sudden that they not only lost their footing themselves, but also upset those in the rear and drove them into a deep ravine. Great, indeed, was the loss of life among both these and those who had fallen into the trenches, as horses and men perished in wild confusion. And in the midst of this disorder the men between the ravine and the trenches were being annihilated by showers of missiles and arrows. Severus, seeing this, came to their aid with the Pretorians, but, far from helping them, he came very near destroying the Pretorians, too, and found his own life imperilled when he lost his horse. When he saw all his men in flight, he tore off his

A.D. 197

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[2] *ἐγένετο* H. Steph., *ἐγένοντο* VC.

ἑαυτοῦ, τὴν χλαμύδα περιρρηξάμενος καὶ τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος ἐς τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐσεπήδησεν, ὅπως ἢ αἰσχυνθέντες ὑποστρέψωσιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς συναπόληται. ἔστησαν γοῦν τινὲς τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ἰδόντες καὶ ὑπέστρεψαν, κἀν τούτῳ τοῖς ἐφεπομένοις σφίσιν ἐναντίοι ἐξαίφνης φανέντες συχνοὺς μὲν ἐκείνων ὡς καὶ Ἀλβινείους κατέκοψαν, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντάς σφας

8 ἔτρεψαν. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἱππεῖς ἐκ πλαγίου οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Λαίτου ἐπιγενόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξειργάσαντο. ὁ γὰρ Λαῖτος, ἕως μὲν ἀγχωμάλως ἠγωνίζοντο, περιεωρᾶτο[1] ἐλπίζων ἐκείνους τε ἀμφοτέρους ἀπολεῖσθαι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τὸ κράτος τοὺς λοιποὺς στρατιώτας ἑκατέρωθεν δώσειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν ἐπικρατέστερα τὰ τοῦ Σεουήρου γενόμενα, προσεπελάβετο τοῦ ἔργου.

7 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Σεουῆρος οὕτως ἐνίκησεν, ἡ δὲ δύναμις ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρῶς ἔπταισεν ἅτε ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀναριθμήτων πεσόντων. καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν κρατησάντων ὠλοφύραντο τὸ πάθος·

2 τό τε γὰρ πεδίον πᾶν μεστὸν νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἵππων ἑωρᾶτο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τραύμασι πολλοῖς κατακεκομμένοι καὶ οἷα[2] κρεουργηθέντες ἔκειντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄτρωτοι ἐσεσώρευντο, τά τε ὅπλα ἔρριπτο, καὶ τὸ αἷμα πολὺ ἐρρύη, ὥστε καὶ

3 ἐς τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐσπεσεῖν. ὁ δ' Ἀλβῖνος καταφυγὼν ἐς οἰκίαν τινὰ πρὸς τῷ Ῥοδανῷ κειμένην, ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ πέριξ φρουρούμενα ᾔσθετο, ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινε· λέγω γὰρ οὐχ ὅσα ὁ Σεουῆρος ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀληθῶς ἐγένετο. ἰδὼν δ' οὖν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς

[1] περιεωρᾶτο C, περιωρᾶτο VC.

riding cloak, and drawing his sword, rushed among the fugitives, hoping either that they would be ashamed and turn back or that he might himself perish with them. Some, indeed, did stop when they saw him in this attitude, and turned back; and brought in this way face to face with the men following them, they cut down not a few of them, supposing them to be Albinus' men, and they routed all their pursuers. At this juncture the cavalry under Laetus came up from one side and completed their victory. Laetus, it appears, so long as the struggle was close, had merely looked on, hoping that both leaders would perish and that the soldiers who survived on either side would give the supreme power to him; but when he saw that Severus' side was prevailing, he also took a hand in the business. A.D. 197

Thus Severus conquered; but the Roman power suffered a severe blow, inasmuch as countless numbers had fallen on both sides. Many even of the victors deplored the disaster, for the entire plain was seen to be covered with the bodies of men and horses; some of them lay there mutilated by many wounds, as if hacked in pieces, and others, though unwounded, were piled up in heaps, weapons lay scattered about, and blood flowed in streams, even pouring into the rivers. Albinus took refuge in a house that stood beside the Rhone, but when he saw the whole place surrounded, he slew himself. I am not stating, now, what Severus wrote about it, but what actually took place. The emperor, after viewing the body of Albinus and feasting his eyes

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[1] *οἷα* Bk., *οἳ* VC.

πολλὰ δὲ τῇ γλώττῃ χαρισάμενος, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο ῥιφῆναι ἐκέλευσε, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην 4 πέμψας ἀνεσταύρωσεν. ἐφ' οἷς δῆλος γενόμενος ὡς οὐδὲν εἴη οἱ[1] αὐτοκράτορος ἀγαθοῦ, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τὸν δῆμον, οἷς ἐπέστειλεν, ἐξεφόβησεν· ἅτε γὰρ παντὸς ἤδη τοῦ ὡπλισμένου κεκρατηκὼς ἐξέχεεν ἐς τοὺς ἀνόπλους πᾶν ὅσον ὀργῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν χρόνου ἠθροίκει. μάλιστα δ' ἡμᾶς ἐξέπληξεν ὅτι τοῦ τε Μάρκου υἱὸν καὶ τοῦ Κομμόδου ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε, τῷ τε Κομμόδῳ, ὃν πρῴην ὕβριζεν, ἡρωικὰς 8 ἐδίδου τιμάς. πρός τε τὴν βουλὴν λόγον ἀναγινώσκων, καὶ τὴν μὲν Σύλλου καὶ Μαρίου καὶ Αὐγούστου αὐστηρίαν τε καὶ ὠμότητα ὡς ἀσφαλεστέραν ἐπαινῶν, τὴν δὲ Πομπηίου καὶ[2] Καίσαρος ἐπιείκειαν ὡς ὀλεθρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις γεγενημένην κακίζων, ἀπολογίαν τινὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ 2 Κομμόδου ἐπήγαγε, καθαπτόμενος τῆς βουλῆς ὡς οὐ[3] δικαίως ἐκεῖνον ἀτιμαζούσης, εἴγε καὶ αὐτῆς οἱ πλείους αἴσχιον βιοτεύουσιν. "εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἦν" ἔφη "δεινόν, ὅτι αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἐφόνευεν ἐκεῖνος θηρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῶν τις χθὲς καὶ πρῴην ἐν Ὠστίοις,[4] ὑπατευκὼς γέρων, δημοσίᾳ μετὰ πόρνης 3 πάρδαλιν μιμουμένης ἔπαιζεν. ἀλλ' ἐμονομάχει νὴ Δία. ὑμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς μονομαχεῖ; πῶς οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τί τάς τε ἀσπίδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ κράνη τὰ χρυσᾶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπρίαντό τινες;" ἀναγνοὺς δὲ

[1] εἴη οἱ Bs., οἱ εἴη Sylb., εἴη VC.

upon it to the full, while giving free rein to his A.D. 197 tongue as well, ordered all but the head to be cast away, but sent the head to Rome to be exposed on a pole. As this action showed clearly that he possessed none of the qualities of a good ruler, he alarmed both us and the populace more than ever by the commands that he sent; for now that he had overcome all armed opposition, he was venting upon the unarmed all the wrath that he had stored up against them in the past. He caused us especial dismay by constantly styling himself the son of Marcus and the brother of Commodus and by bestowing divine honours upon the latter, whom but recently he had been abusing. While reading to the senate a speech, in which he praised the severity and cruelty of Sulla, Marius and Augustus as the safer course and deprecated the mildness of Pompey and Caesar as having proved the ruin of those very men, he introduced a sort of defence of Commodus and inveighed against the senate for dishonouring that emperor unjustly, in view of the fact that the majority of its members lived worse lives. "For if it was disgraceful," he said, "for him with his own hands to slay wild beasts, yet at Ostia only the other day one of your number, an old man who had been consul, was publicly sporting with a prostitute who imitated a leopard. But, you will say, Commodus actually fought as a gladiator. And does none of you fight as a gladiator? If not, how and why is it that some of you have bought his shields and those famous golden helmets?" After

[2] καὶ supplied by R. Steph.
[3] οὐ supplied by R. Steph.
[4] Ὠστίοις Bk., ὀστίοις VC.

ταῦτα τριάκοντα μὲν καὶ πέντε ἀπέλυσε τῶν τὰ 4 Ἀλβίνου φρονῆσαι αἰτιαθέντων, καὶ ὡς μηδεμίαν τὸ παράπαν αἰτίαν ἐσχηκόσιν αὐτοῖς προσεφέρετο (ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς γερουσίας), ἐννέα δὲ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνδρῶν θάνατον κατεψηφίσατο, ἐν οἷς ἄρα καὶ Σουλπικιανὸς ὁ τοῦ Περτίνακος πενθερὸς ἠριθμεῖτο.—Xiph. 304, 22—308, 21 R. St.

5 Ὅτι πάντες μὲν ἐπλάττοντο τὰ Σευήρου φρονεῖν, ἠλέγχοντο δὲ ἐν ταῖς αἰφνιδίοις ἐπαγγελίαις, μὴ δυνάμενοι ἐπικαλύπτειν τὸ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κεκρυμμένον· τῆς γὰρ ἀκοῆς ἐξαπίνης αὐτοῖς προσπιπτούσης ἀφυλάκτως ἐκινοῦντο, καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῶν ἠθῶν ὡς ἕκαστοι κατάδηλοι ἐγίνοντο. τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα προσποιεῖσθαι πλέον ἐγινώσκοντο.—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 130 (p. 227 Mai. = p. 210, 19–26 Dind.)

LXXIV 9, 5 Ὅτι ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐπεχείρησε τοὺς τιμωρουμένους ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ . . .[1] τῷ Κλάρῳ τῷ Ἐρυκίῳ μηνυτῇ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν χρήσασθαι, ἵνα τόν τε ἄνδρα διαβάλῃ καὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον ἀξιοχρεώτερον πρός τε τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ποιεῖσθαι νομισθείῃ· καὶ τήν γε σωτηρίαν τήν τε ἄδειαν 6 αὐτῷ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι ἐνδεῖξαι εἵλετο, πρὸς τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἐτράπετο, καὶ τοῦτον ἀνέπεισεν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀφῆκεν, ὅσον γε μήτ᾽ ἀποκτεῖναι μήτ᾽ ἀτιμάσαι· ταῖς γὰρ δὴ βασάνοις ἰσχυρῶς πάντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἠκρίβωσεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ

reading this address, he released thirty-five prisoners who were charged with having sided with Albinus, and behaved toward them as if they had not incurred any charge at all (they were among the foremost members of the senate), but condemned to death twenty-nine other men, among whom naturally was Sulpicianus, the father-in-law of Pertinax. A.D. 197

All pretended to be on the side of Severus, but they were confuted as often as any sudden tidings arrived, being unable to conceal the feelings hidden in their hearts. For when off their guard they started at reports that came without warning, and in such ways, as well as by their countenances and behaviour, the feelings of every one of them became manifest. Some also by pretending overmuch were recognized all the more readily.

Severus attempted in the case of those who were being punished by him . . . to employ Erucius Clarus[1] as informer against them, with the double purpose of compromising this man and of seeming to justify more completely the conviction of the accused in view of the witness's family and reputation; and he promised Clarus both his life and pardon. But when Clarus chose rather to die than to make any such revelations, he turned to Julianus and persuaded him to take the part; and for this service he let him off, to the extent of not putting him to death or disfranchising him, but he rigorously verified all his statements by evidence given

[1] C. Julius Erucius Clarus Vibianus.

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[1] Lacuna indicated by Rk.

λόγῳ τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ τότε αὐτῷ ποιησάμενος.[1]
—Exc. Val. 344 (p. 737).

LXXV 5, 4 Ὅτι διὰ[2] τοὺς Καληδονίους μὴ ἐμμείναντας ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ τοῖς Μαιάταις παρεσκευασμένους ἀμῦναι, διά τε[3] τὸ τότε τὸν Σεουῆρον τῷ παροίκῳ[4] πολέμῳ προσκεῖσθαι, κατηναγκάσθη ὁ Λοῦπος[5] μεγάλων χρημάτων τὴν εἰρήνην παρὰ τῶν Μαιατῶν ἐκπρίασθαι, αἰχμαλώτους τινὰς ὀλίγους ἀπολαβών.—Exc. U[R] 18 (p. 414).

9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐκστρατεύει κατὰ τῶν Πάρθων· ἀσχολουμένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐς τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους ἐκεῖνοι ἀδείας λαβόμενοι τήν τε Μεσοποταμίαν εἷλον, στρατεύσαντες παμπληθεί, καὶ μικροῦ καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν ἐχειρώσαντο, εἰ μὴ Λαῖτος αὐτήν, πολιορκούμενος ἐν 2 αὐτῇ, διεσώσατο. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐδοξάσθη, ὢν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἴδια καὶ τὰ δημόσια καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἄριστος. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν προειρημένην Νίσιβιν ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐνέτυχε συῒ μεγίστῳ· ἱππέα τε γὰρ ἔκτεινεν ὁρμήσας καταβαλεῖν αὐτὸν

[1] Cf. Petr. Patr.: ὅτι Σευῆρος τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς γράψαντας κατ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀλβῖνον διελέγξαι βουλόμενος ἠβουλήθη καὶ Βιβιανὸν ἄνδρα ὑπατευκότα καὶ τὰ Ἀλβίνου δοκοῦντα φρονεῖν υποφθεῖραι, ἵνα τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ αὐτοῦ χρώμενος κατὰ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀξιόπιστον τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιήσῃ. ὁ δὲ εἵλατο σφαγῆναι ἢ πρᾶξαί τι ἐλευθερίας ἀλλότριον. Ἰουλιανὸν οὖν εὑρὼν πρὸς τοῦτο ἀνέπεισε καὶ κατηγόρῳ ἐχρήσατο.—*Exc. Vat.* 131 (p. 227 Mai. = p. 210, 27—211, 2 Dind.)

[2] διὰ Rk., διὰ τὸ MSS.

[3] διά τε Bs., καὶ διὰ Rk., διὰ MSS.

[4] Huebner proposed Παρθικῷ for παροίκῳ.

[5] Λοῦπος Urs., λούπιος MSS.

under torture, disregarding the rank Julianus then had.[1] A.D. 197

Inasmuch as the Caledonians did not abide by their promises and had made ready to aid the Maeatae, and in view of the fact that Severus at the time was devoting himself to the neighbouring war,[2] Lupus was compelled to purchase peace from the Maeatae for a large sum; and he received a few captives.

After this Severus made a campaign against the Parthians. For while he had been occupied with the civil wars they had taken advantage of their immunity and had captured Mesopotamia, whither they had made an expedition in full force. They had also come very near seizing Nisibis, and would have succeeded, had not Laetus, who was besieged there, saved the place. In consequence Laetus acquired still greater renown, though he had already shown himself a most excellent man in all his relations, both private and public, whether in war or in peace. Severus, on reaching the aforesaid Nisibis, found there an enormous boar. It had charged and killed a horseman, who, trusting to his A.D. 198

[1] Cf. Patric.: "Severus in his desire to convict the senators who had written to Albinus against him, wished to destroy also Vibianus, an ex-consul, who was thought to be on Albinus' side, in order that with the aid of his testimony against the senators he might make his accusation convincing. But Vibianus chose rather to be slain than to do anything inconsistent with a noble nature. Severus then discovered Julianus, persuaded him to play the part, and employed him as accuser!"

[2] If the text is correct, the reference is probably to conflicts in Gaul with the surviving members of Albinus' party. Huebner would read "the Parthian war," in which case the place of this fragment would be rather uncertain.

πειρώμενον καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἰσχύι θαρρήσαντα, μόλις δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν συλληφθείς τε καὶ σφαγείς, τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντων τῶν συλλαβόντων αὐτόν, τῷ Σεουήρῳ προσεκομίσθη.
3 τῶν δὲ Πάρθων οὐ μεινάντων αὐτὸν ἀλλ' οἴκαδε[1] ἀναχωρησάντων (ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Οὐολόγαισος, οὗ ἀδελφὸς συνῆν τῷ Σεουήρῳ) πλοῖα κατασκευάσας ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, καὶ πλέων τε καὶ βαδίζων παρ' αὐτόν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι λίαν ὀξύτατα καὶ ταχινὰ καὶ εὖ ἐσταλμένα (τῆς παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖσε χωρίων ἄφθονον διδούσης αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ξύλων χορηγίαν) τὰ κατασκευασθέντα, ταχέως τήν τε Σελεύκειαν
4 καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐκλειφθείσας ἔλαβε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Κτησιφῶντα ἑλὼν ἐκείνην τε πᾶσαν διαρπάσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφῆκε, φόνον τε ἀνθρώπων πλεῖστον εἰργάσατο, καὶ ζῶντας ἐς δέκα μυριάδας εἷλεν. οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τὸν Οὐολόγαισον ἐπεδίωξεν οὔτε τὴν Κτησιφῶντα κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐστρατευκὼς ἵν' αὐτὴν διαρπάσῃ ᾤχετο, τὸ μὲν ἀγνωσίᾳ τῶν χωρίων τὸ δ' ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.
5 ὑπέστρεψε δὲ καθ' ἑτέραν ὁδόν· τά τε γὰρ ξύλα καὶ ὁ χόρτος ὁ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ[2] εὑρεθεὶς κατανάλωτο· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πεζῇ ἄνω παρὰ τὸν Τίγριν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πλοίων ἀνεπορεύθησαν.—Xiph. 308, 21—309, 17 R. St., Exc. Val. 345 (p. 737).

10 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ Σεουῆρος τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν διαβὰς ἐπειράθη μὲν καὶ τῶν Ἄτρων οὐ πόρρω ὄντων, ἐπέρανε δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα κατεκαύθη καὶ στρατιῶται συχνοὶ μὲν ἀπώλοντο

own strength, had attempted to bring it down, and it had been with difficulty caught and despatched by a large crowd of soldiers (the number taking part in the capture was thirty); then it had been brought to Severus. As the Parthians did not await his arrival but retired homeward (their leader was Vologaesus, whose brother was accompanying Severus), he constructed boats on the Euphrates and proceeded forward partly by sailing and partly by marching along the river. The boats thus built were exceedingly swift and speedy and well constructed, for the forest along the Euphrates and that region in general afforded him an abundant supply of timber. Thus he soon had seized Seleucia and Babylon, both of which had been abandoned. Later, upon capturing Ctesiphon, he permitted the soldiers to plunder the entire city, and he slew a vast number of people, besides taking as many as a hundred thousand captives. He did not, however, pursue Vologaesus, nor even occupy Ctesiphon, but, just as if the sole purpose of his campaign had been to plunder this place, he was off again, owing partly to lack of acquaintance with the country and partly to the dearth of provisions. He returned by a different route, because the wood and fodder found on the outward march had been exhausted. Some of the soldiers made the return journey by land up the Tigris, and some on boats. A.D. 198

Severus now crossed Mesopotamia and made an attempt on Hatra, which was not far off, but accomplished nothing; on the contrary, his siege engines were burned, many soldiers perished, and vast num- A.D. 199(?)

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[1] *οἴκαδε* Zon., *οἴκοι* VC.
[2] *προτέρᾳ* Bk., *προτεραίᾳ* VC.

πάμπολλοι δὲ καὶ ἐτρώθησαν. ἀπανέστη οὖν 2 ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνέζευξεν ὁ Σεουῆρος. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐπολέμει, δύο ἄνδρας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἰούλιον Κρίσπον χιλιαρχοῦντα τῶν δορυφόρων, ὅτι ἀχθεσθεὶς τῇ τοῦ πολέμου κακώσει ἔπος τι τοῦ Μάρωνος τοῦ ποιητοῦ παρεφθέγξατο, ἐν ᾧ ἐνῆν στρατιώτης τις τῶν μετὰ Τούρνου τῷ Αἰνείᾳ ἀντιπολεμούντων ὀδυρόμενος καὶ λέγων ὅτι "ἵνα δὴ τὴν Λαουινίαν[1] ὁ Τοῦρνος ἀγάγηται, ἡμεῖς ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ παραπολλύμεθα." καὶ τὸν κατηγορήσαντα αὐτοῦ στρατιώτην Οὐαλέριον χιλίαρχον 3 ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Σεουῆρος ἀπέδειξεν. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν Λαῖτον, ὅτι τε φρόνημα εἶχε καὶ ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἠγαπᾶτο καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως στρατεύσειν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ Λαῖτος αὐτῶν ἡγοῖτο. καὶ τούτου τὸν φόνον,[2] διότι οὐκ εἶχε φανερὰν αἰτίαν εἰ μὴ τὸν φθόνον, τοῖς στρατιώταις προσῆπτεν ὡς παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ τοῦτο τετολμηκόσιν.

11 Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄτρα ἐστράτευσε, πολλὰ μὲν σιτία παρασκευάσας πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μηχανήματα ἑτοιμασάμενος· καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἐποιεῖτο, τῶν ἄλλων κεχειρωμένων, μόνην ταύτην ἐν μέσῳ κειμένην ἀντέχειν. καὶ ἀπώλεσε καὶ χρήματα πλεῖστα καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα πάντα, πλὴν τῶν Πρισκείων, ὡς ἀνωτέρω ἔφην, καὶ σὺν 2 τούτοις καὶ στρατιώτας πολλούς. συχνοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταῖς προνομαῖς ἐφθείροντο, τῆς βαρβαρικῆς ἵππου (φημὶ δὴ τῆς τῶν Ἀραβίων[3])

[1] Λαουινίαν R. Steph., Χαβινίαν VC.
[2] φόνον Zon., φόβον VC.

bers were wounded. He accordingly retired from there and shifted his quarters. While he was engaged in this war he put to death two distinguished men. One was Julius Crispus, a tribune of the Pretorians; and the reason was that Crispus, vexed at the war's havoc, had casually quoted some verses of the poet Maro,[1] in which one of the soldiers fighting on the side of Turnus against Aeneas bewails his lot and says: "In order that Turnus may marry Lavinia, we are meanwhile perishing all unheeded." And Severus made Valerius, the soldier who accused him, tribune in his place. The other man that he put to death was Laetus, for the reason that Laetus was proud and was beloved by the soldiers, who used to declare they would not go on a campaign unless Laetus led them. He tried to fasten the responsibility for this murder, for which he had no evident reason save jealousy, upon the soldiers, making it appear that they had been rash enough to commit the deed contrary to his will.

A.D. 199(?)

He himself made another expedition against Hatra, having first got ready a large store of food and prepared many siege engines; for he felt it was disgraceful, now that the other places had been subdued, that this one alone, lying there in their midst, should continue to resist. But he lost a vast amount of money, all his engines, except those built by Priscus, as I have stated above,[2] and many soldiers besides. A good many were lost on foraging expeditions, as the barbarian cavalry (I mean that

A.D. 200(?)

[1] Vergil, *Aen.* xi. 371–3.
[2] In lxxiv (lxxv). 11.

[3] Ἀραβίων Reim., ἀρράβων VC.

πανταχοῦ ὀξέως τε καὶ[1] *σφοδρῶς ἐπιπιπτούσης αὐτοῖς· καὶ οἱ Ἀτρηνοὶ ἐξικνοῦντο μὲν καὶ ταῖς τοξείαις ἐπὶ μακρότατον (καὶ γὰρ ἐκ μηχανῶν*
3 *βέλη τινὰ ἐξέκρουον, ὥστε πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν τοῦ Σεουήρου ὑπασπιστῶν βαλεῖν, σύνδυό τε αὐτῶν βέλη ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ῥύμην ἱέντων, πολλαῖς τε ἅμα χερσὶ καὶ πολλοῖς τοξεύμασι βαλλόντων), πλεῖστον δὲ ὅμως ἐκάκωσαν αὐτοὺς ἐπειδὴ τῷ τείχει προσέμιξαν, καὶ πολὺ πλεῖον ἐπεὶ καὶ*
4 *διέρρηξάν τι αὐτοῦ· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ νάφθα τὸ ἀσφαλτῶδες ἐκεῖνο, περὶ οὗ ἄνω μοι γέγραπται, ἀφιέντες*[2] *σφίσι τά τε μηχανήματα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας πάντας, οἷς ἐπεβλήθη, κατέπρησαν. καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Σεουῆρος ἀπὸ βήματος*
12 *ὑψηλοῦ ἐθεώρει. πεσόντος δέ πῃ τοῦ ἔξωθεν περιβόλου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντων προθυμουμένων ἐς τὸν λοιπὸν ἐσβιάσασθαι, ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Σεουῆρος τοῦτο*[3] *πρᾶξαι, τορῶς πανταχόθεν τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν σημανθῆναι κελεύσας· δόξα*
2 *τε γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ὡς καὶ πάμπολλα τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἀναθήματα ἔχοντος μεγάλη ἦν, καὶ προσεδόκησεν ἐθελοντὶ τοὺς Ἀραβίους, ἵνα μὴ βίᾳ ἁλόντες ἀνδραποδισθῶσιν,*
3 *ὁμολογήσειν. μίαν γοῦν διαλιπὼν ἡμέραν, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐπεκηρυκεύσατο, προσέταξεν αὖθις τοῖς στρατιώταις τῷ τείχει, καίπερ ἀνοικοδομηθέντι νυκτός, προσβαλεῖν· καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν Εὐρωπαίων τῶν δυναμένων τι κατεργάσασθαι οὐδεὶς ἔτ' ὀργῇ ὑπήκουσεν, ἕτεροι δὲ δὴ Σύροι*

[1] *πανταχοῦ ὀξέως τε καὶ* Sylb., *πανταχοῦ τε ὀξέως καὶ* C, *πανταχοῦ τε καὶ ὀξέως καὶ* V.
[2] *ἀφιέντες* C, *ἐφιέντες* V. [3] *τοῦτο* Rk., *τοῦ* VC.

of the Arabians) kept assailing them everywhere in swift and violent attacks. The archery, too, of the Atreni was effective at very long range, since they hurled some of their missiles by means of engines, so that they actually struck many even of Severus' guards; for they discharged two missiles at one and the same shot and there were many hands and many bows hurling the missiles all at the same time. But they inflicted the greatest damage on their assailants when these approached the wall, and much more still after they had broken down a small portion of it; for they hurled down upon them, among other things, the bituminous naphtha, of which I wrote above,[1] and consumed the engines and all the soldiers on whom it fell. Severus observed all this from a lofty tribunal. When a portion of the outer circuit had fallen in one place and all the soldiers were eager to force their way inside the remainder, Severus checked them from doing so by ordering the signal for retreat to be clearly sounded on every side. For the place enjoyed great fame, containing as it did a vast number of offerings to the Sun-god as well as vast sums of money; and he expected the Arabians to come to terms voluntarily, in order to avoid being forcibly captured and enslaved. At any rate, he allowed one day to pass; then, when no one came to him with any overtures for peace, he commanded the soldiers to assault the wall once more, though it had been built up during the night. But the Europeans, who alone of his army had the ability to do anything, were so angry that not one of them would any longer obey him, and the others, Syrians,

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[1] In xxxvi. 1[b].

ἀναγκασθέντες ἀντ' αὐτῶν προσβαλεῖν κακῶς 4 ἐφθάρησαν. καὶ οὕτω θεὸς ὁ ῥυσάμενος τὴν πόλιν τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας δυνηθέντας ἂν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐσελθεῖν διὰ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἀνεκάλεσε, καὶ τὸν Σεουῆρον αὖ βουληθέντα αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦτο 5 λαβεῖν διὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκώλυσεν. οὕτως γοῦν ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐπὶ τούτοις διηπορήθη ὥστε τινὸς τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν[1] ὑποσχομένου αὐτῷ ἐάν γε αὐτῷ δώσῃ[2] πεντακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα μόνους τῶν Εὐρωπαίων στρατιωτῶν, ἄνευ τοῦ τῶν ἄλλων κινδύνου τὴν πόλιν ἐξαιρήσειν, ἔφη πάντων ἀκουόντων "καὶ πόθεν τοσούτους στρατιώτας ἔχω;" πρὸς τὴν ἀπείθειαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῦτο εἰπών.—Xiph. 309, 17—311, 5 R. St.

13 Εἴκοσι δ' οὖν ἡμέρας τῇ πολιορκίᾳ προσεδρεύσας ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην μετὰ τοῦτο ἦλθε καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐνήγισε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἄνω διὰ τοῦ Νείλου ἀνέπλευσε καὶ εἶδε πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πλὴν βραχέων· οὐ γὰρ ἠδυνήθη πρὸς τὰ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας μεθόρια διὰ λοιμώδη νόσον 2 ἐσβαλεῖν. καὶ ἐπολυπραγμόνησε πάντα καὶ τὰ πάνυ κεκρυμμένα· ἦν γὰρ οἷος μηδὲν μήτε ἀνθρώπινον μήτε θεῖον ἀδιερεύνητον καταλιπεῖν· κἀκ τούτου τά τε βιβλία πάντα τὰ ἀπόρρητόν τι ἔχοντα, ὅσα γε καὶ εὑρεῖν ἠδυνήθη, ἐκ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν ἀδύτων ἀνεῖλε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μνημεῖον συνέκλεισεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔτι μήτε τὸ τούτου σῶμα ἴδῃ μήτε τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις γεγραμμένα ἀναλέξηται.—Xiph. 311, 5–14 R. St., Exc. Val. 346 (p. 737) = Suid. *s.vv.* Σεβῆρος σοφιστὴς Ῥωμαῖος, οἷος, *et* ἀναλεξάμενος.

who were compelled to make the assault in their place, were miserably destroyed. Thus Heaven, that saved the city, first caused Severus to recall the soldiers when they could have entered the place, and in turn caused the soldiers to hinder him from capturing it when he later wished to do so. Severus, in fact, found himself so embarrassed by the situation that, when one of his associates promised, if he would give him only five hundred and fifty of the European soldiers, to destroy the city without any risk to the other troops, he said within the hearing of all: "And where am I to get so many soldiers?"—referring to the soldiers' disobedience.

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After conducting the siege for twenty days, he then went to Palestine, where he sacrificed to the spirit of Pompey. Thence he sailed to Upper Egypt, passing up the Nile, and viewed the whole country with some few exceptions; for instance, he was unable to pass the frontier of Ethiopia because of a pestilence. He inquired into everything, including things that were very carefully hidden; for he was the kind of person to leave nothing, either human or divine, uninvestigated. Accordingly, he took away from practically all the sanctuaries all the books that he could find containing any secret lore, and he locked up the tomb of Alexander; this was in order that no one in future should either view Alexander's body or read what was written in the above-mentioned books. So much, then, for what Severus was doing.

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[1] αὐτὸν H. Steph., αὑτὸν VC.
[2] δώσῃ R. Steph., δώσει VC, δῷ St.

3 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίει· ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου οὐδὲν δέομαι γράφειν, ὃ δὲ δὴ περὶ τοῦ Νείλου πολλαχόθεν ἀκριβώσας ἔχω, δικαιότατός εἰμι εἰπεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Ἄτλαντος τοῦ ὄρους σαφῶς ἀναδίδοται. τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Μακεννίτιδι παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ὠκεανῷ πρὸς ἑσπέραν, καὶ ὑπεραίρει πολὺ πλεῖστον ἁπάντων ὀρῶν, ὅθεν οἱ ποιηταὶ κίονα αὐτὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἶναι ἔφησαν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀνέβη ποτέ τις ἐπ' ἄκρον 4 αὐτοῦ οὔτε τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ εἶδε. χιόνος τε οὖν ἀεὶ διὰ ταῦτα πεπλήρωται, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξ αὐτῆς παμπληθὲς ὑπὸ τὸ θέρος ἀφίησιν. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἑλώδη πάντα τὰ περὶ τοὺς πρόποδας αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον πληθύνεται, καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὸν Νεῖλον τὴν ὡραίαν ἐπαύξει·[1] πηγὴ γάρ ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ που καὶ τοῖς κροκοδείλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἑκατέρωθι ὁμοίως γεννω-5 μένοις τεκμηριοῦται. καὶ θαυμάσῃ[2] μηδεὶς εἰ τὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ἕλλησιν ἄγνωστα ἐξηυρήκαμεν·[3] πλησίον γὰρ οἱ Μακεννῖται τῇ Μαυριτανίᾳ τῇ κάτω οἰκοῦσι, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ στρατευομένων καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἄτλαντα ἀφικνοῦνται.

14 Τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἔχει, Πλαυτιανὸς δὲ παραδυναστεύων τῷ Σεουήρῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπαρχικὴν ἔχων ἐξουσίαν, πλεῖστά τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ μέγιστα δυνηθείς, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὁμοτίμων αὐτῷ ἐθανάτωσε . . . .—Xiph. 311, 14–32 R. St.

2 Ὅτι ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς τὸν Αἰμίλιον Σατορνῖνον ἀποκτείνας τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀρξάντων τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ πάντα τὰ ἰσχυρότατα περιέ-

[1] ἐπαύξει Sylb., ἐπαύξειν VC.

I have no wish, now, to write about Egypt in general, but I do feel fully justified in mentioning what I have learned about the Nile by accurate investigation in many quarters. It clearly has its source on Mount Atlas. This is situated in Macennitis, toward the west, close to the ocean itself, and it towers far above all other mountains, for which reason the poets have called it the pillar of the sky; no one, indeed, has ever ascended its summit or seen its peaks. Hence it is always covered with snow, which in summer time sends down a great volume of water. The whole region about its base is marshy at all times, but at this season becomes even more so, with the result that it swells the Nile at harvest time; for this is the river's source, as is proved by the crocodiles and other animals that are born here as well as in the Nile. Let no one be surprised, now, that we have made discoveries unknown to the ancient Greeks; for the Macennitae live near Lower Mauretania and many of the soldiers who are stationed there go as far as Atlas. This is the truth of the matter. A.D. 200

Plautianus, who not only shared Severus' power but also had the authority of prefect, and possessed the widest and greatest influence of all men, put to death many prominent men among his peers . . . .

Plautianus, after killing Aemilius Saturninus,[1] took away all the most important powers of those who had been their fellow-officers[2] in command of the Pretorians, in order that no one might become

[1] His fellow-prefect. [2] Tribunes?

[2] θαυμάσῃ H. Steph., θαυμάσει VC.
[3] ἐξηυρήκαμεν (ἐξευρήκαμεν) Reim., ἐξηρήκαμεν VC.

κοψεν, ὅπως μηδεὶς φρόνημα ἀπὸ τῆς προστασίας αὐτῶν σχὼν τῇ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἡγεμονίᾳ ἐφεδρεύσῃ· ἤδη γὰρ οὐχ ὅπως μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ 3 *ἀθάνατος ἔπαρχος εἶναι ἤθελεν. ἐπεθύμει τε πάντων καὶ πάντα παρὰ πάντων ᾔτει καὶ πάντα ἐλάμβανε, καὶ οὔτε ἔθνος οὐδὲν οὔτε πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ἀσύλητον εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πανταχόθεν ἥρπαζε καὶ συνεφόρει· καὶ πολὺ πλείονα αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ Σεουήρῳ ἅπαντες ἔπεμπον.*[1] *καὶ τέλος ἵππους Ἡλίῳ ἱεροὺς*[2] *τιγροειδεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ νήσων, πέμψας ἑκατοντάρχους,* 4 *ἐξέκλεψεν· ἓν γὰρ τοῦτο εἰπὼν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν περιεργίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπληστίαν δεδηλωκέναι νομίζω. καίτοι καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσθήσω, ὅτι ἀνθρώπους ἑκατὸν εὐγενεῖς*[3] *Ῥωμαίους ἐξέτεμεν οἴκοι, καὶ τοῦτο οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν πρὸ τοῦ τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ᾔσθετο· πᾶσαν γὰρ ἐκ τούτου τήν τε παρανομίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἄν τις καταμάθοι. ἐξέτεμε δὲ οὐ παῖδας μόνον οὐδὲ*[4] *μειράκια, ἀλλὰ καὶ* 5 *ἄνδρας, καὶ ἔστιν οὓς αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκας ἔχοντας, ὅπως ἡ Πλαυτίλλα*[5] *ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ, ἣν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔγημε, δι' εὐνούχων τήν τε ἄλλην θεραπείαν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν τήν τε λοιπὴν θεωρίαν ἔχῃ. καὶ εἴδομεν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὐνούχους τε καὶ ἄνδρας, καὶ πατέρας καὶ ἀόρχεις,*[6] *ἐκτομίας τε καὶ* 6 *πωγωνίας. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ οὐκ ἀπεικότως ὑπὲρ πάντας τὸν Πλαυτιανόν, καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς αὐτοκρά-*

[1] *καὶ πολὺ—ἔπεμπον* R. Steph., *καὶ πολλοὶ πλείονα αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ Σευήρῳ ἅπαντες ἔπεμπον* VC, *πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ πολὺ πλείωνα αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ Σεβήρῳ ἔπεμπον* cod. Peir.

[2] *ἱεροὺς* supplied by Rk.

so presumptuous as the result of his authority over them as to lie in wait for the captaincy of the bodyguards; for already it was his ambition to be, not simply the only prefect, but permanent prefect as well. He wanted everything, asked everything from everybody, and would take everything. He left no province and no city unplundered, but snatched and gathered in everything from all sides; and everybody sent a great deal more to him than to Severus. Finally, he sent centurions and stole horses with tiger-like stripes,[1] sacred to the Sun, from the islands in the Red Sea.[2] This one statement will suffice, I think, to make clear all his officiousness and greed; but I will add one thing more. At home he castrated a hundred Roman citizens of noble birth—though none of us knew of it until after he was dead. From this anyone may comprehend the full extent both of his lawlessness and of his power. Nor was it boys or youths alone that he castrated, but grown men as well, some of whom had wives. His purpose was that Plautilla, his daughter, whom Antoninus afterward married, should have only eunuchs as her attendants in general, and especially as her teachers in music and other branches of art. So we saw the same persons both eunuchs and men, fathers and impotent, emasculated and bearded. In view of this, one might not improperly claim that Plautianus had power beyond all men, equalling

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[1] Probably zebras. [2] The Persian Gulf.

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[3] *εὐγενεῖς* VC, *συγγενεῖς* cod. Peir.
[4] *οὐδὲ* Bk., *οὔτε* V cod. Peir., *εἴτε* C.
[5] *Πλαυτίλλα* cod. Peir., *πλαυτία* VC.
[6] *πατέρας καὶ ἀόρχεις* Sylb., *πατέρας καὶ ἀόρχας* cod. Peir., *πατέρας ἀόρχεις* V.

τορας, ἰσχῦσαι ἄν τις εἴποι. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἀνδριάντες αὐτοῦ καὶ[1] εἰκόνες οὐ μόνον πολλῷ 7 πλείους ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζους τῶν ἐκείνων, οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ, οὐδ' ὑπ' ἰδιωτῶν ἢ δήμων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς γερουσίας ἀνετίθεντο· τήν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ ὤμνυσαν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ ἅπαντες ηὔχοντο.—Xiph. 312, 1—23 R. St., Exc. Val. 347 (p. 737 sq.).

15 Αἴτιος δὲ τούτων αὐτὸς ὁ Σεουῆρος μάλιστ' ἐγένετο, ὃς οὕτως αὐτῷ ὑπεῖκεν ἐς πάντα ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐν αὐτοκράτορος αὐτὸν δὲ ἐν ἐπάρχου[2] μοίρᾳ εἶναι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὁ μὲν πάνθ' ἁπλῶς ὅσα ὁ Σεουῆρος καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἔπραττεν ᾔδει, τῶν δὲ δὴ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ ἀπορρήτων 2 οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἠπίστατο. τήν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τῷ υἱεῖ ἐμνήστευσε, πολλὰς καὶ σεμνὰς κόρας παραλιπών, ὕπατόν τε ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διάδοχον τῆς αὐταρχίας ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔχειν ηὔξατο, καί ποτε καὶ ἐπέστειλε· "φιλῶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὥστε καὶ εὔχεσθαι προαποθανεῖν αὐτοῦ."—Xiph. 312, 23—31 R. St.

2[a] . . . . ὥστε . . . . . . καί τινα τολμῆσαι γράφειν[3] πρὸς αὐτόν, πρὸς τέταρτον Καίσαρα.—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 132[b] (p. 227 Mai. = p. 211, 7–8 Dind.)

2[b] Ὅτι καὶ πολλῶν εἰς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ ψηφισθέντων παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου ὀλίγα ἐδέξατο εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς ὅτι "ταῖς ψυχαῖς με φιλεῖτε καὶ μὴ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν."—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 133 (p. 227 Mai. = p. 211, 9–11 Dind.)

even that of the emperors themselves. Among A.D. 200 other things, his statues and images were not only far more numerous but also larger than theirs, and this not alone in outside cities but in Rome itself, and they were erected not merely by individuals or communities but by the very senate. All the soldiers and the senators took oaths by his Fortune, and all publicly offered prayers for his preservation.

The one chiefly responsible for this situation was Severus himself, who yielded to Plautianus in all matters to such a degree that the latter occupied the position of emperor and he himself that of prefect. In short, the man knew absolutely everything that Severus either said or did, whereas no one was acquainted with any of Plautianus' secrets. The emperor sought Plautianus' daughter on behalf of his own son, passing by many other maidens of high rank. He appointed him consul, and as good as prayed to have him as his successor in the imperial office; in fact, he once wrote in a letter: "I love the man so much that I pray to die before he does."

. . . so that . . . someone actually dared to write to him [as] to a fourth Caesar.

Though many decrees were passed in his honour by the senate, he accepted only a few of them, saying to the senators: "Show your affection for me in your hearts, not in your decrees."

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[1] καὶ supplied by Sylb.
[2] ἐπάρχου C, ὑπάρχου V.
[3] γράφειν Mai, γράψειν cod.

3 Ἠνείχετό γέ τοι ὁρῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς καταλύσεσιν αὐτὸν ταῖς κρείττοσιν αὐλιζόμενον καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἀμείνω καὶ ἀφθονώτερα αὐτοῦ[1] ἔχοντα, ὥστε δεηθείς ποτε ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ τῇ πατρίδι μου κεστρέως, οὓς ἡ λίμνη μεγάλους ἐκτρέφει, παρ' 4 ἐκείνου μετεπέμψατο. ὅθεν εἰ καί τι ἐπὶ μειώσει τῆς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' ἔκ γε τῶν ἐναντίων, πολὺ καὶ μειζόνων καὶ λαμπροτέρων ὄντων, καὶ ἐκεῖνο πᾶν ἀπημβλύνετο. ποτὲ γοῦν τοῦ Σεουήρου ἐν Τυάνοις νοσήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐπισκεπτομένου, οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ περὶ τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν ὄντες οὐκ εἴασαν τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας 5 αὐτῷ συνεσελθεῖν· ὅ τε[2] τὰς δίκας τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένας διατάττων κελευσθείς ποτε ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἀργοῦντος δίκην τινὰ ἐσαγαγεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐ δύναμαι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, 6 ἂν μὴ Πλαυτιανός μοι κελεύσῃ." καὶ οὕτω καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς αὐτοῦ κατεκράτει ὥστε καὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὔγουσταν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐργάσασθαι· πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῇ ἤχθετο, καὶ σφόδρα αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Σεουῆρον ἀεὶ διέβαλλέν, ἐξετάσεις τε κατ' αὐτῆς καὶ 7 βασάνους κατ' εὐγενῶν γυναικῶν ποιούμενος. καὶ ἡ μὲν αὐτή τε φιλοσοφεῖν διὰ ταῦτ' ἤρξατο καὶ σοφισταῖς συνημέρευεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Πλαυτιανὸς ἀσωτότατός τε ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, ὥστε καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι ἅμα καὶ ἐμεῖν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν τε σιτίων καὶ τοῦ οἴνου πέψαι ἐδύνατο, καὶ τοῖς μειρακίοις ταῖς τε κόραις οὐκ ἄνευ διαβολῆς χρώμενος, τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ

[1] αὐτοῦ Reim., αὐτοῦ VC.

The emperor submitted to seeing him lodge in better lodging-places and enjoy better and more abundant food than he himself had. Hence in Nicaea, my native city, when Severus once wanted a mullet, large specimens of which are found in the lake there, he sent to Plautianus to secure it. Hence, even if he ever did do anything calculated to diminish the other's power, it was completely deprived of its force by acts of a contrary nature which were more important and conspicuous. Thus, on one occasion, when Severus went to visit him, when he had fallen ill at Tyana, the soldiers about Plautianus would not permit the emperor's escort to enter with him. And again, when the man who arranged the cases that were to be pleaded before Severus was once ordered by the latter in a moment of leisure to bring forward some case or other, he refused, saying: "I cannot do so, unless Plautianus bids me." So greatly did Plautianus have the mastery in every way over the emperor, that he often treated even Julia Augusta in an outrageous manner; for he cordially detested her and was always abusing her violently to Severus. He used to conduct investigations into her conduct as well as gather evidence against her by torturing women of the nobility. For this reason she began to study philosophy and passed her days in company with sophists. As for Plautianus, he became the most sensual of men; for he would gorge himself at banquets and vomit as he ate, as the mass of food and wine that he swallowed made it impossible for him to digest anything; and though he made use of lads and girls in notorious fashion, yet he

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[2] ὅ τε Sylb., ὅτι VC.

οὔθ' ὁρᾶν τινὰ οὔθ' ὁρᾶσθαι τὸ παράπαν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἢ τῆς Ἰουλίας, μήτι γε ἑτέρων τινῶν, ἐπέτρεπεν.—Xiph. 312, 31—313, 21 R. St., Exc. Val. 348 = Suid. *s. v.* *Ἰουλία Αὐγούστα*, Exc. Val. 349 (p. 738 sq.).

16 *Ἐγένετο δ' ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ ἀγὼν γυμνικός,*[1] *ἐν ᾧ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ἀθλητῶν ἀναγκασθὲν συνῆλθεν ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς θαυμάσαι πῶς αὐτοὺς τὸ στάδιον ἐχώρησε. καὶ γυναῖκες δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τούτῳ ἀγριώτατα ἁμιλλώμεναι*[2] *ἐμαχέσαντο, ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πάνυ ἐπιφανεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποσκώπτεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκωλύθη μηκέτι μηδεμίαν γυναῖκα μηδαμόθεν μονομαχεῖν.*

2 *Εἰκόνων δέ ποτε πολλῶν τῷ Πλαυτιανῷ γενομένων (ἄξιον γὰρ ἀφηγήσασθαι τὸ πραχθέν) δυσχεράνας πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Σεουῆρός τινας αὐτῶν συνεχώνευσε, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τούτου θροῦς διῆλθεν ὡς καὶ καθήρηται καὶ διέφθαρται, καί τινες*[3] *συνέτριψαν εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' ᾧ ὕστερον ἐκολάσθησαν· ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἄρχων Ῥάκιος Κώνστας, ἀνὴρ ἐλλογι-* 3 *μώτατος. ἀλλ' οὗ χάριν τούτων ἐμνήσθην, ὅτι τοῦ ῥήτορος, ὃς τοῦ Κώνσταντος κατηγόρησε, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰπόντος, θᾶσσον ἂν τὸν οὐρανὸν συμπεσεῖν ἢ Πλαυτιανόν τι ὑπὸ Σεουήρου παθεῖν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἐκείνῳ τῷ λόγῳ, εἴπερ τι τοιοῦτον ἐλέχθη, πιστεῦσαί* 4 *τινα,—ταῦτα τοῦ ῥήτορος εἰπόντος, καὶ προσέτι*

[1] *γυμνικός* Bs., *γυναικὸς* VC.
[2] *ἁμιλλώμεναι* Bs., *ἀλάμεναι* VC, *ἁλάμεναι* cod. Vat. Pal. 61, *Ἀλαμάνναι* Rk.

would not permit his own wife to see anybody or to be seen by any person whomsoever, not even by Severus or Julia, to say nothing of any others. A.D. 200

There took place also during those days a gymnastic contest, at which so great a multitude of athletes assembled, under compulsion, that we wondered how the course could contain them all. And in this contest women took part, vying with one another most fiercely, with the result that jokes were made about other very distinguished women as well. Therefore it was henceforth forbidden for any woman, no matter what her origin, to fight in single combat.

On one occasion, when a great many images of Plautianus had been made (this incident is well worth relating), Severus was displeased at their number and caused some of them to be melted down, and in consequence a rumour spread to the cities that the prefect had been overthrown and had perished. So some of them demolished his images, an act for which they were later punished. Among these was the governor of Sardinia, Racius[1] Constans, a very famous man. My especial reason, however, for mentioning the matter is this. The orator who accused Constans declared among other things that the heavens would fall before Plautianus would ever suffer any harm at the hands of Severus, and that with greater reason one might believe even that report, were any story of the sort to be circulated. Now though he made this declaration, and

[1] Or perhaps Raecius.

[3] τινες Sylb., τινας VC.

καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σεουήρου νεανιευσαμένου πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς συνδικάζοντας αὐτῷ καὶ φήσαντος ὅτι "ἀδύνατόν ἐστι κακόν τι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πλαυτιανῷ γενέσθαι," οὐδ' ἀπηνιαύτισεν[1] *αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ Πλαυτιανός, ἀλλ' ἐσφάγη καὶ αἱ εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ* 5 *σύμπασαι διεφθάρησαν. πρὸ δὲ τούτου κῆτος ὑπερμέγεθες ἐς τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐπίκλην λιμένα ἐξώκειλε καὶ ἑάλω, καὶ τὸ μίμημα αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ κυνηγέσιον ἐσαχθὲν πεντήκοντα ἄρκτους εἴσω ἐδέξατο. ὤφθη δὲ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ κομήτης ἀστὴρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, καὶ οὐκ αἴσιόν τι σημαίνειν ἐλέγετο.*—Xiph. 313, 21—314, 13 R. St.

[1] *ἀπηνιαύτισεν* Bk., *ἀπενιαύτισεν* VC.

though, moreover, Severus himself boldly confirmed it A.D. 200 to us who were assisting him in the trial of the case, declaring, "It is impossible for Plautianus to come to any harm at my hands," nevertheless this very Plautianus did not live the year out, but was slain and all his images destroyed. But before that happened, a vast sea-monster came ashore in the harbour named for Augustus and was captured; a model of him, taken into the hunting-theatre, admitted fifty bears into its interior. Moreover, a comet was seen in Rome for many days and was said to portend nothing favourable.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVII

LXXVI 1, 1 Ὁ δὲ Σεουῆρος ἐπὶ τῆς δεκετηρίδος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήσατο τῷ τε ὁμίλῳ παντὶ τῷ σιτοδοτουμένῳ[1] καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς δορυφόροις ἰσαρίθμους τοῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἔτεσι χρυσοῦς. ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μέγιστον ἠγάλλετο· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐδεὶς πώποτε τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἀθρόοις ἐδεδώκει· ἐς γὰρ τὴν δωρεὰν ταύτην πεντακισχίλιαι μυριάδες δραχμῶν ἀναλώθησαν. 2 ἐποιήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ γάμοι τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ τῆς Πλαυτίλλης τῆς τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ θυγατρός· καὶ τοσαῦτα τῇ θυγατρὶ οὗτος ἔδωκεν[2] ὅσα καὶ πεντήκοντα γυναιξὶ βασιλίσσαις ἤρκεσεν ἄν. εἴδομεν δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐς τὸ παλάτιον κομιζόμενα. εἱστιάθημεν δὲ ἐν ταὐτῷ[3] ἅμα, τὰ μὲν βασιλικῶς τὰ δὲ βαρβαρικῶς, ἑφθά τε πάντα ὅσα νομίζεται, καὶ ὠμὰ ζῶντά τε ἄλλα λαβόντες. 3 ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ θέαι τηνικαῦτα παντοδαπαὶ ἐπί τε τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ τοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ δεκετηρίδι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις. ἐν ταύταις ταῖς θέαις καὶ σύες τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ ἑξήκοντα ἄγριοι ἐπάλαισαν ἀλλήλοις ὑπὸ παραγγέλματος, ἐσφάγησαν δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ θηρία καὶ ἐλέφας 4 καὶ κοροκότας· τὸ δὲ ζῷον τοῦτο Ἰνδικόν τέ ἐστι, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὅσα καὶ ἐγὼ

[1] σιτοδοτουμένῳ Hoeschel, σιτοδουμένω VC.
[2] ἔδωκεν Bk., δέδωκεν VC.
[3] ἐν ταὐτῷ Reim., ἐν τῷ VC.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVII

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of his coming to power Severus presented to the entire populace that received the grain dole and to the soldiers of the pretorian guard gold pieces equal in number to the years of his reign. He prided himself especially on this largess, and, in fact, no emperor had ever before given so much to the whole population at once; the total amount spent for the purpose was two hundred million sesterces. The nuptials of Antoninus, the son of Severus, and Plautilla, Plautianus' daughter, were also celebrated at this time; and Plautianus gave as much for his daughter's dowry as would have sufficed for fifty women of royal rank. We saw the gifts as they were being carried through the Forum to the palace. And we were all entertained together at a banquet, partly in royal and partly in barbaric style, receiving not only all the customary cooked viands but also uncooked meat and sundry animals still alive. At this time there occurred, too, all sorts of spectacles in honour of Severus' return, the completion of his first ten years of power, and his victories. At these spectacles sixty wild boars of Plautianus fought together at a signal, and among many other wild beasts that were slain were an elephant and a corocotta. This last animal is an Indian species, and was then introduced into Rome for the first time, so far as I am aware. It has the

A.D. 202

ἐπίσταμαι, ἐσήχθη, ἔχει δὲ χροιὰν μὲν λεαίνης τίγριδι μεμιγμένης, εἶδος δὲ ἐκείνων τε καὶ κυνὸς καὶ ἀλώπεκος ἰδίως πως συγκεκραμένον. τῆς δὲ δεξαμενῆς ἁπάσης τῆς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐς πλοίου σχῆμα κατασκευασθείσης ὡς τετρακόσια θηρία
5 καὶ δέξασθαι καὶ ἀφεῖναι ἀθρόως, ἔπειτα ἐξαίφνης διαλυθείσης ἀνέθορον ἄρκτοι λέαιναι πάνθηρες λέοντες στρουθοὶ ὄναγροι βίσωνες[1] (βοῶν τι τοῦτο εἶδος, βαρβαρικὸν τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν ὄψιν), ὥστε ἑπτακόσια τὰ πάντα καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτὰ ὁμοῦ καὶ διαθέοντα ὀφθῆναι καὶ σφαγῆναι· πρὸς γὰρ τὸν τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀριθμὸν ἑπταημέρου γεγονυίας καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἑπτάκις ἑκατὸν ἐγένετο.

2 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Βεσβίῳ[2] τῷ ὄρει πῦρ τε πλεῖστον ἐξέλαμψε καὶ μυκήματα μέγιστα ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὴν Καπύην, ἐν ᾗ, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ οἰκῶ, διάγω, ἐξακουσθῆναι· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἐξειλόμην τῶν τε ἄλλων ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὅτι μάλιστα, ἵνα σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστικῶν πραγ-
2 μάτων ἄγων ταῦτα γράψαιμι. ἐδόκει οὖν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸ Βέσβιον γεγονότων νεοχμόν τι ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν αὐτίκα ἐνεοχμώθη. μέγας μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς καὶ ὑπέρμεγας ἐγεγόνει, ὥστε καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ποτὲ εἰπεῖν· "τί τρέμεις,
3 τί δὲ ὠχριᾷς; πλεῖον τῶν τριῶν κέκτησαι." ἔλεγον δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον δῆθεν ἀλλ' ἄλλως,

[1] βίσωνες Bk., βίσσωνες VC.
[2] Βεσβίῳ Reim., βαιβίω (and βαίβιον below) VC.

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[1] Pliny (*N. H.* viii. 21, 30) describes the corocotta as the offspring of a dog and wolf, and again (viii. 30, 45) as the offspring of a hyena and lioness. Capitolinus (*Vit. Antonin.*

colour of a lioness and tiger combined, and the general appearance of those animals, as also of a dog and a fox, curiously blended.[1] The entire receptacle in the amphitheatre had been constructed so as to resemble a boat in shape, and was capable of receiving or discharging four hundred beasts at once; and then, as it suddenly fell apart, there came rushing forth bears, lionesses, panthers, lions, ostriches, wild asses, bisons (this is a kind of cattle foreign in species and appearance), so that seven hundred beasts in all, both wild and domesticated, at one and the same time were seen running about and were slaughtered. For to correspond with the duration of the festival, which lasted seven days, the number of the animals was also seven times one hundred. A.D. 202

On Mount Vesuvius a huge fire blazed up, and there were bellowings mighty enough to be heard even in Capua, where I live whenever I am in Italy. I have selected this place for various reasons, and particularly for its quiet, in order that when I have leisure from the offices of the capital I may write this history. In view, now, of what happened on Vesuvius, it seemed probable that some change in the State was about to occur; and, in fact, there was an immediate change in the fortunes of Plautianus. This man had in very truth grown great and more than great, so that even the populace in the Circus once exclaimed: "Why do you tremble? Why are you pale? You possess more than do the three." They pretended, to be sure, that they were not saying this of him but in another connexion, but

10, 9) states that the first Antoninus had exhibited the animal in Rome.

τρεῖς δὲ ἐνέφαινον τόν τε Σεουῆρον καὶ τοὺς υἱέας αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνῖνον καὶ Γέταν· ὠχρία δὲ ἀεὶ καὶ ἔτρεμεν ἔκ τε τῆς διαίτης ἣν διῃτᾶτο, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐλπίδων ὧν ἤλπιζε, καὶ ἐκ τῶν φόβων ὧν ἐφοβεῖτο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τέως μὲν ἤτοι ἐλάνθανε τὰ πλείω αὐτὸν τὸν Σεουῆρον, ἢ καὶ εἰδὼς αὐτὰ οὐ 4 προσεποιεῖτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ Γέτας τελευτῶν πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Πλαυτιανόν, ἅτε καὶ μισῶν αὐτὸν καὶ μηκέτι φοβούμενος, ἐμήνυσεν, ἐκεῖνόν τε χαλκοῦν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἔστησε καὶ τοῦτον οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἐτίμησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως 5 τῆς πολλῆς παρέλυσεν. ὅθεν ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς δεινῶς ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον καὶ πρότερον διὰ τὴν θυγατέρα ἀτιμαζομένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μισῶν τότε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἤχθαιρεν ὡς αἴτιον τῆς ἀτιμίας ἐκείνης αὐτῷ, καὶ τραχύτερον αὐτῷ προσφέρεσθαι ἤρξατο.

3 Δι' οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος τῇ τε γυναικὶ ἀναιδεστάτῃ οὔσῃ ἀχθόμενος, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι τε πάντα ὅσα ἔπραττεν ἐπολυπραγμόνει καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτῷ ἐπετίμα, βαρυνόμενος, ἀπαλλαγῆναι 2 τρόπον τινὰ αὐτοῦ ἐπεθύμησε. κἀκ τούτου δι' Εὐόδου τοῦ τροφέως αὐτοῦ[1] Σατορνῖνόν τινα ἑκατόνταρχον καὶ ἄλλους δύο ὁμοίους αὐτῷ ἔπεισεν ἐσαγγεῖλαί οἱ ὅτι δέκα τισὶν ἑκατοντάρχοις, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν, ὁ Πλαυτιανὸς κεκελευκὼς εἴη 3 καὶ τὸν Σεουῆρον καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον κτεῖναι· καί τινα καὶ γραφὴν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ εἰληφότες ἀνεγίνωσκον. ἐξαίφνης δὲ ταῦτ' ἐν ταῖς θεωρίαις

[1] αὑτοῦ Reim., αὐτοῦ VC.

by "the three" they meant Severus and his two sons, Antoninus and Geta; and Plautianus was always pale and trembling because of the kind of life he lived, the hopes he entertained, and the fears he felt. And yet for a time most of this conduct of Plautianus was not noticed by Severus himself, or, if he did know of it, he pretended not to know. When, however, his brother Geta on his deathbed revealed to him all the facts about Plautianus,—for Geta hated the prefect and now no longer feared him,—the emperor set up a bronze statue of his brother in the Forum and no longer held his minister in the same honour, but stripped him of most of his power. Hence Plautianus became very indignant; he had even before this hated Antoninus for slighting his daughter, but now detested him more than ever as being responsible for this slight which had been put upon him, and he began to behave rather harshly toward him. A.D. 202

For these reasons Antoninus, in addition to being disgusted with his wife, who was a most shameless creature, felt resentment against Plautianus as well, because he kept meddling in all his undertakings and rebuking him for everything that he did; and so he conceived the desire to get rid of him in some way or other. Accordingly he got Euodus, his tutor, to persuade a certain centurion, Saturninus, and two others of the same rank with him to bring him word that Plautianus had ordered ten specified centurions, these three being of the number, to kill both Severus and Antoninus; and they read a certain written communication, pretending that they had received it in connexion with this very plot. Now this was all carried out suddenly at the festival held A.D. 205

ταῖς ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἥρωσι πεποιημέναις, τῆς τε θέας ἀφειμένης καὶ δείπνου μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι, ἐγίνετο.[1] ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸ σκευώρημα κατε-
4 φάνη· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὔτε ἑκατοντάρχοις δέκα ἅμα οὔτε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ οὔτε ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ οὔτε ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὔτε ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τοιοῦτό τι ὁ Πλαυτιανός, ἄλλως τε καὶ γράψας, προστάξαι ἐτετολμήκει. ὅμως πιστὸν αὐτὸ ἔδοξε τῷ Σεουήρῳ, ὅτι τῇ νυκτὶ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τὸν Ἀλβῖνον ὄναρ ζῶντά τε καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντα αὐτῷ[2] ἑωράκει.

4 Σπουδῇ οὖν, ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι, τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν μετεπέμψατο. καὶ ὃς οὕτως ἠπείχθη, μᾶλλον δὲ οὕτως αὐτῷ τὸν ὄλεθρον τὸ δαιμόνιον προεμήνυσεν, ὥστε τὰς ἡμιόνους τὰς ἀγούσας αὐτὸν πεσεῖν ἐν
2 τῷ παλατίῳ. καὶ αὐτὸν[3] ἐσιόντα οἱ θυρωροὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν κιγκλίδων μόνον ἐσεδέξαντο, οὐδ' εἴασαν οὐδένα αὐτῷ συνεσελθεῖν· ὅπερ ποτὲ αὐτὸς περὶ τὸν Σεουῆρον ἐν τοῖς Τυάνοις ἐπεποιήκει. καὶ ὑπώπτευσε μέν τι ἐκ τούτου, περίφοβός τε ἐγένετο, οὐ μέντοι ἔχων ὅπως ἀναχωρήσει ἐσῆλθε.
3 καὶ ὁ Σεουῆρος καὶ πάνυ πρᾴως αὐτῷ διελέχθη· "τί τε τοῦτο ἔδοξέ σοι ποιῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τί ἀποκτεῖναι ἡμᾶς ἠθέλησας;" λόγον τε αὐτῷ ἔδωκε, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς καὶ ἀπολογουμένου αὐτοῦ ἀκούσων. ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀρνούμενόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ θαυμάζοντα τὰ λεγόμενα τό τε ξίφος προσπη-

[1] ἐγίνετο Bk., ἐγίνοντο VC.
[2] αὐτῷ Bk., αὐτῶ VC.

in the palace in honour of dead ancestors,[1] after the spectacle was over and as dinner was about to be served. These circumstances in particular betrayed the fraud; for Plautianus would never have dared to give such instructions either to ten centurions at once, or in Rome, or in the palace, or on that day, or at that hour, and especially not in writing. Nevertheless Severus believed the information trustworthy, inasmuch as he had dreamed the night before that Albinus was alive and plotting against him. A.D. 205

He therefore summoned Plautianus in haste, as if upon some other business. And Plautianus hurried so, or rather Heaven gave him such an intimation of his approaching destruction, that the mules that brought him dropped in the palace yard. And when he entered, the porters at the latticed gates admitted him alone inside and would permit no one else to go in with him, just as he himself had once done in the case of Severus at Tyana. This caused him to suspect something, and he became alarmed; but as he had no way of withdrawing, he went in. Severus talked to him in a very mild manner, and asked: "Why have you seen fit to do this? Why did you wish to kill us?" He also gave him an opportunity to speak and acted as if intending to listen to his defence. But Antoninus, as Plautianus was making denial and expressing amazement at what was said, rushed up, took away his sword, and

[1] Apparently an "All Souls' Day," the departed ancestors (or "heroes") probably being, in this case, the deified emperors.

[3] αὐτὸν R. Steph., αὐτὸ VC.

4 δήσας ἀφείλετο καὶ πὺξ ἔπαισε· καὶ ἠθέλησε μὲν καὶ αὐτοχειρίᾳ σφάξαι εἰπόντα ὅτι "ἔφθης με κτεῖναι," ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς κωλυθεὶς ἐκέλευσέ τινι τῶν ὑπηρετῶν φονεῦσαι αὐτόν. καὶ αὐτόν τις τῶν τριχῶν τοῦ γενείου ἐκτίλας[1] τῇ τε Ἰουλίᾳ καὶ τῇ Πλαυτίλλῃ[2] προσήνεγκεν ὁμοῦ οὔσαις, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν αὐτὰς ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ εἶπεν "ἴδετε τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν ὑμῶν," κἀκ τούτου τῇ μὲν πένθος
5 τῇ δὲ χαρὰν ἐνέβαλεν. ἐκεῖνος μὲν καὶ μέγιστον τῶν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ[3] ἀνθρώπων δυνηθείς, ὥστε καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων[4] μᾶλλον πάντας καὶ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ τρέμειν, καὶ ἐπὶ μειζόνων ἐλπίδων αἰωρηθείς, οὕτως ὑπό τε τοῦ γαμβροῦ ἐσφάγη καὶ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου ἐς ὁδόν τινα ἐρρίφη· μετὰ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἀνῃρέθη καὶ ἐτάφη τοῦ Σεουήρου κελεύσαντος.

5 Καὶ ὁ Σεουῆρος μετὰ ταῦτα συνήγαγε μὲν τὴν βουλὴν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατηγόρησέ τι τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν τήν τε φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ὡς μὴ δυναμένην τιμὰς ὑπερόγκους
2 στέγειν ὠδύρατο, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ᾐτιάσατο ὅτι οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐτετιμήκει καὶ ἐπεφιλήκει, τοὺς δὲ δὴ μηνύσαντάς οἱ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν[5] αὐτοῦ πάνθ' ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐκβαλὼν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου τοὺς οὐκ ἀναγκαίους, ἵν' ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν διηγήσασθαι
3 ἐνδείξηται ὅτι οὐ πάνυ σφίσι πιστεύει. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν ἐκινδύνευσαν, καί τινες καὶ ἀπέθανον· ὁ μέντοι Κοίρανος ἔλεγε μέν, οἷά που πλεῖστοι πρὸς τοὺς εὐτυχοῦντας πλάτ-

[1] ἐκτίλας H. Steph., ἐκτίλλας VC.
[2] Πλαυτίλλῃ R. Steph., πλακίλλῃ VC.
[3] ἐμοῦ H. Steph., ἐμὲ VC.
[4] αὐτοκρατόρων H. Steph., ἀνακτόρων VC.

struck him with his fist; and he even wanted to kill him with his own hands, after the other had remarked, "You have forestalled me in killing." But, being prevented by his father, Antoninus ordered one of the attendants to slay Plautianus. And somebody plucked out a few hairs from his beard, carried them to Julia and Plautilla, who were together, before they had heard a word of the affair, and exclaimed, "Behold your Plautianus," thus causing grief to the one and joy to the other. Thus this man, who had possessed the greatest power of all the men of my time, so that everyone regarded him with greater fear and trembling than the very emperors, and who had been led on to still greater hopes, was slain by his son-in-law and his body thrown down from the palace into a street; for it was only afterwards that, at the command of Severus, he was taken up and buried. A.D. 205

Severus later called a meeting of the senate in the senate-house, where, however, he uttered no accusation against Plautianus, but merely deplored the weakness of human nature, which cannot endure excessive honours, and blamed himself in that he had so loved and honoured this man. Then he ordered those who had informed him of Plautianus' plot to tell us everything; but first he removed from the chamber those whose presence was not necessary, so as to make it clear, through his refusal to reveal anything to them, that he did not altogether trust them. Many, accordingly, found their lives in danger on account of Plautianus, and some were actually put to death. As for Coeranus, however, though he admitted (a mere pretence, no doubt,

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[5] ἐπιβουλὴν Sylb., βουλὴν VC.

τονται ἀεί, ἑταῖρός τε αὐτοῦ εἶναι, καὶ ὁσάκις γε ἐκεῖνοι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀσπαζομένων αὐτὸν ἐσεκαλοῦντο, συνεφείπετό σφισι μέχρι τῆς κιγκλίδος τῆς τελευταίας, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκοινώνει 4 τῶν ἀπορρήτων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μεταιχμίῳ διατρίβων Πλαυτιανῷ μὲν ἔξω τοῖς δὲ ἔξω ἔνδον ἐδόκει εἶναι· καὶ διά τε[1] τοῦτο πλέον ὑπωπτεύθη, καὶ διότι ὄναρ ποτὲ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ ἰδόντος ἰχθῦς τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἀναβάντας πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ προσπεπτωκέναι, ἔφη καὶ τῆς γῆς 5 αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἄρξειν. ἀλλ' οὗτος ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐν νήσῳ περιορισθεὶς κατήχθη τε μετὰ τοῦτο, καὶ ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν πρῶτος Αἰγυπτίων κατελέχθη, καὶ ὑπάτευσε μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἀρχὴν 6 προάρξας, ὥσπερ ὁ Πομπήιος. Καικίλιος μέντοι Ἀγρικόλας ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν κολάκων αὐτοῦ ἀριθμούμενος, πονηρίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀσελγείᾳ οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων δεύτερος ὤν, κατεψηφίσθη ἀποθανεῖν, ἐλθὼν δὲ οἴκαδε καὶ οἴνου ἐψυγμένου ἐμπλησθεὶς τό τε ποτήριον, ὃ πέντε μυριάδων ἐώνητο, συνέτριψε, καὶ ἐπαπέθανεν αὐτῷ τὰς φλέβας τεμών. 6 Σατορνῖνος μέντοι καὶ Εὔοδος τότε μὲν ἐτιμήθησαν, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἐθανατώθησαν. ψηφιζομένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπαίνους τινὰς τῷ Εὐόδῳ ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐκώλυσεν εἰπών· "αἰσχρόν ἐστιν ἐν δόγματι ὑμῶν τοιοῦτό τι περὶ Καισαρείου

[1] τε supplied by Bk.

such as most men are wont to indulge in when A.D. 205 referring to those who are favoured by Fortune) that he had been an intimate of Plautianus and that, whenever the other suspected senators were invited into his house in advance of the general throng of those who came to pay Plautianus their respects, he had accompanied them as far as the last gate, yet he denied that he had shared in Plautianus' secrets, asserting that he always remained in the space midway, thus giving to Plautianus the impression that he was outside and to those outside that he was inside. Because of this he was regarded with all the greater suspicion; and there was the further reason that once, when Plautianus dreamed that fishes came up out of the Tiber and fell at his feet, Coeranus had declared that he should rule both the land and the water. But this man, after being confined on an island for seven years, was later recalled, was the first Egyptian to be enrolled in the senate, and became consul, like Pompey, without having previously held any other office. Caecilius Agricola, on the other hand, who was numbered among the foremost flatterers of Plautianus and was second to no man on earth in knavery and licentiousness, was sentenced to death; he accordingly went home and, after drinking his fill of chilled wine, shattered the cup, which had cost him two hundred thousand sesterces, and cutting his veins, fell dead upon the fragments. As for Saturninus and Euodus, they were honoured at the time, but were later executed by Antoninus. While we were engaged in voting sundry eulogies to Euodus, Severus restrained us, saying: "It would be disgraceful for anything of that sort concerning an imperial freedman to appear

2 ἀνδρὸς γεγράφθαι." καὶ οὐ τοῦτον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἀπελευθέρους οὔθ' ὑβρίζειν οὔθ' ὑπεραυχεῖν εἴα· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ καλῶς ἤκουεν. ἡ δ' αὖ γερουσία ὑμνοῦσά ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄντικρυς ἐξεβόησεν, ὅτι "πάντες πάντα καλῶς ποιοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ σὺ 3 καλῶς ἄρχεις." Πλαυτίλλα δὲ καὶ Πλαύτιος,[1] οἱ τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ υἱεῖς, τότε μὲν ἐσώθησαν ἐς Λιπάραν ἐξορισθέντες, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀντωνίνου ἀπώλοντο· καίτοι καὶ ζῶντες ἔν τε δέει καὶ ταλαιπωρίᾳ πολλῇ τῶν τε ἀναγκαίων οὐκ εὐπορίᾳ διῆγον.—Xiph. 314, 13—318, 9 R. St., Exc. Val. 350 (p. 741).

7 Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Σεουήρου παῖδες, ὅ τε Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ὁ Γέτας, οἷον παιδαγωγοῦ τινὸς ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ Πλαυτιανοῦ, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐποίουν. καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκας ᾔσχυνον καὶ παῖδας ὕβριζον χρήματά τε παρεξέλεγον, καὶ τοὺς μονομάχους τούς τε ἁρματηλάτας προσηταιρίζοντο, τῇ μὲν ὁμοιότητι τῶν ἔργων ζηλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, τῷ δὲ 2 ἀντισπουδάζειν στασιάζοντες· εἰ γάρ τῳ ὁ ἕτερος προσέθετο, πάντως ἂν τὸ ἐναντίον ὁ ἕτερος ἀνθῃρεῖτο. καὶ τέλος συμβαλόντες ἐν γυμνασίᾳ τινὶ ἵππων σμικρῶν ζεύγεσιν ἐς μεγάλην φιλονεικίαν ἤλασαν, ὥστε τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἐκπεσεῖν τε ἐκ τοῦ 3 δικύκλου καὶ τὸ σκέλος κατεάξαι. παθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ[2] τοῦτο καὶ νοσηλευομένου ὁ Σεουῆρος οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὸ παράπαν ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδίκαζεν καὶ πάντα τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα διῴκει. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν[3] τούτῳ καὶ ἐπῃνεῖτο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Κύντιλλον τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν φονεύσας αἰτίαν

[1] Πλαύτιος Sylb., πλαῦτος VC.

in one of your decrees." Nor was this the only A.D. 205 instance of such an attitude on his part; he also refused to allow any of the other imperial freedmen, either, to act insolently or to give themselves airs; and for this he was well spoken of. The senate, in fact, while chanting his praises once went so far as to shout out these words: "All do all things well since you rule well." Plautilla and Plautius, the children of Plautianus, were for the time being permitted to live, being banished to Lipara, but in the reign of Antoninus they perished; and yet even while they lived they passed their lives in great fear and wretchedness and with no abundance of the necessaries of life.

The sons of Severus, Antoninus and Geta, feeling that they had got rid of a pedagogue, as it were, in Plautianus, now went to all lengths in their conduct. They outraged women and abused boys, they embezzled money, and made gladiators and charioteers their boon companions, emulating each other in the similarity of their deeds, but full of strife in their rivalries; for if the one attached himself to a certain faction, the other would be sure to choose the opposite side. And at last they were pitted against each other in some kind of contest with teams of ponies and drove with such fierce rivalry that Antoninus fell out of his two-wheeled chariot and broke his leg. Severus, during his son's illness that followed this accident, did not neglect any of his duties in the least, but held court and attended all the business pertaining to his office. And for this he was praised; but he was censured for killing

[2] αὐτοῦ Val., αὐτὸ cod. Peir.
[3] μὲν supplied by Bk.

ἔσχεν. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς βουλευτάς, τοὺς μὲν κατηγορηθέντας παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπολογησαμένους καὶ ἁλόντας.—Exc. Val. 351 (p. 741), Xiph. 318, 9—20 R. St.

4 Ὅτι ὁ Κύντιλλος εὐγενέστατός τε ὢν καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς βουλῆς ἀριθμηθείς, ἔν τε ταῖς τοῦ γήρως πύλαις ἑστὼς καὶ ἐν ἀγρῷ ζῶν, καὶ οὔτε πολυπραγμονῶν τι οὔτε παραπράσσων, ὅμως καὶ ἐσυκοφαντήθη καὶ ἀνῃρέθη. μέλλων δ' οὖν τελευτήσειν ᾔτησε τὰ ἐντάφια, ἃ πρὸ πολλοῦ παρεσκεύαστο· καὶ ἐπειδὴ διερρυηκότα αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου εἶδε, "τί τοῦτο;" ἔφη, 5 "ἐβραδύναμεν." καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λιβανωτοῦ θυμιάσας εἶπεν ὅτι "τὴν αὐτὴν εὐχὴν [1] εὔχομαι ἣν καὶ Σερουιανὸς [2] ἐπ' Ἀδριανῷ ηὔξατο." ἐκεῖνός τε οὖν ἀπώλετο, καὶ μονομάχων ἀγῶνες ἐγένοντο ἐν οἷς τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τίγριδες δέκα ἅμα ἐσφάγησαν.—Exc. Val. 352 (p. 741), Xiph. 318, 20—29 R. St.

8 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀπρωνιανὸν ἐτελέσθη, παράδοξα ὄντα καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι. ἔσχε γὰρ αἰτίαν ὅτι ποτὲ ἡ τήθη αὐτοῦ ὄναρ ἑορακέναι ἐλέχθη ὡς βασιλεύσει, καὶ ὅτι μαγείᾳ τινὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ χρήσασθαι ἔδοξε· καὶ ἀπὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ 2 τῆς Ἀσίας κατεψηφίσθη. ἀναγινωσκομένων οὖν ἡμῖν τῶν βασάνων τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ γενομένων, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐνεγέγραπτο ὅτι ὁ μέν τις ἐπύθετο τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξετάσεως τεταγμένων τίς τε [3] διηγήσατο τὸ ὄναρ τίς τε ἤκουσεν, ὁ δέ τις ἔφη τά τε ἄλλα

[1] τὴν αὐτὴν εὐχὴν cod. Peir., τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην VC.
[2] καὶ Σερουιανὸς Val., καὶ σευηριανὸς V, καὶ σευκριανὸς C, καί σαριουλια ὃς cod. Peir. [3] τε H. Steph., δὲ VC.

Quintillus Plautianus.[1] He also put to death many other senators, some of them after they had been duly accused before him, had made their defence, and been convicted. A.D. 205

Quintillus, a man of the noblest birth and long counted among the foremost members of the senate, a man now standing at the gates of old age, living in the country, interfering in no one's business and doing aught amiss, nevertheless became the victim of informers and was put out of the way. As he was about to die, he called for his shroud, which he had made ready long before; and on perceiving that it had fallen to pieces through lapse of time, he said: "What does this mean? We are late." And then, as he burnt incense, he remarked: "I make the same prayer as Servianus made for Hadrian."[2] So he died at this time; and gladiatorial contests were held, in which, among other novelties, ten tigers were slain at once.

After this came the *dénouement* of the case of Apronianus—an incredible affair even in the hearing. This man was accused because his nurse was reported to have dreamed once that he should be emperor and because he was believed to have employed some magic to this end; and he was condemned while absent at his post as governor of Asia. Now when the evidence concerning him, taken under torture, was read to us, there appeared in it the statement that one of the persons conducting the examination had inquired who had told the dream and who had heard it, and that the man under examination had

[1] Hirschfeld identifies with M. Plautius Quintillus.
[2] Cf. lxix. 17.

καὶ ὅτι "φαλακρόν τινα βουλευτὴν παρακύψαντα
3 *εἶδον." ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦθ' ἡμεῖς ἐν δεινῷ πάθει ἐγενόμεθα· ὄνομα μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἐκεῖνος εἰρήκει οὔτε ὁ Σεουῆρος ἐγεγράφει, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐκπλήξεως καὶ οἱ μηδεπώποτε ἐς τοῦ Ἀπρωνιανοῦ*[1] *πεφοιτηκότες, οὐχ ὅτι οἱ φαλακροὶ ἀλλὰ*
4 *καὶ οἱ ἄλλως ἀναφαλαντίαι, ἔδεισαν. καὶ ἐθάρσει μὲν οὐδεὶς πλὴν τῶν πάνυ κομώντων, πάντες δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους περιεβλέπομεν, καὶ ἦν θροῦς "ὁ δεῖνά ἐστιν·" "οὔκ, ἀλλ' ὁ δεῖνα." οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι τὸ τότε μοι συμβάν, εἰ καὶ γελοιότατόν ἐστιν· τοσαύτῃ γὰρ ἀμηχανίᾳ συνεσχέθην ὥστε καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰς τρίχας τῇ*
5 *χειρὶ ζητῆσαι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἕτεροι πολλοὶ ἔπαθον. καὶ πάνυ γε ἐς τοὺς φαλακροειδεῖς ἀφεωρῶμεν ὡς καὶ ἐς*[2] *ἐκείνους τὸν ἑαυτῶν κίνδυνον ἀπωθούμενοι, πρὶν δὴ προσανεγνώσθη ὅτι ἄρα περιπόρφυρον ἱμάτιον ὁ φαλα-*
6 *κρὸς ἐκεῖνος εἶχε. λεχθέντος γὰρ τούτου πρὸς Βαίβιον Μαρκελλῖνον ἀπείδομεν· ἠγορανομήκει γὰρ τότε καὶ ἦν φαλακρότατος. ἀναστὰς γοῦν καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς μέσον "πάντως που γνωριεῖ με,*
7 *εἰ ἑόρακεν" ἔφη. ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τοῦτο ἡμῶν ἐσήχθη τε ὁ μηνυτής, καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ἐσιώπησε παρεστῶτος αὐτοῦ, περιβλέπων ὃν γνωρίσειε, τέλος δὲ νεύματί τινος ἀφανεῖ προσσχὼν*[3] *ἔφη*
9 *τοῦτον ἐκεῖνον εἶναι. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὁ Μαρκελλῖνος ἑάλω φαλακροῦ παρακύψεως, ἐξήχθη τε ἐκ*

[1] Ἀπρωνιανοῦ R. Steph., ἀπρωιανοῦ VC.
[2] ἐς supplied by H. Steph.
[3] προσσχὼν Bk., προσχὼν VC.

said, among other things: "I saw a certain bald-headed senator peeping in." On hearing this we found ourselves in a terrible position; for although neither the man had spoken nor Severus written anyone's name, yet such was the general consternation that even those who had never visited the house of Apronianus, and not alone the bald-headed but even those who were bald on their forehead, grew afraid. And although no one was very cheerful, except those who had unusually heavy hair, yet we all looked round at those who were not so fortunate, and a murmur ran about: "It's So-and-so." "No, it's So-and-so." I will not conceal what happened to me at the time, ridiculous as it is. I was so disconcerted that I actually felt with my hand to see whether I had any hair on my head. And a good many others had the same experience. And we were very careful to direct our gaze upon those who were more or less bald, as if we should thereby divert our own danger upon them; we continued to do this until the further statement was read that the bald-head in question had worn a purple-bordered toga. When this detail came out, we turned our eyes upon Baebius Marcellinus; for he had been aedile at the time and was extremely bald. So he rose, and coming forward, said: "He will of course recognize me, if he has seen me." After we had commended this course, the informer was brought in while Marcellinus stood by, and for a considerable time remained silent, looking about for a man he could recognize, but finally, following the direction of an almost imperceptible nod that somebody gave, he said that Marcellinus was the man. Thus was Marcellinus convicted of a bald-head's peeping, and he was led

A.D. 205

τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ὀλοφυρόμενος. καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διεξελθὼν οὐκέτ' ἠθέλησε περαιτέρω προχωρῆσαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τὰ τέκνα τέσσαρα ὄντα ἀσπασάμενος λόγον εἶπε περιπαθέστατον· ἔφη γάρ· "ἕν με τοῦτο λυπεῖ, τέκνα, ὅτι ὑμᾶς
2 ζῶντας καταλείπω." καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπετμήθη, πρὶν τὸν Σεουῆρον μαθεῖν ὅτι καὶ κατεψηφίσθη· τῷ μέντοι τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου παρασχόντι Πολληνίῳ Σεβεννῷ δίκη τιμωρὸς ἀπήντησεν. ἐκδοθεὶς γὰρ ὑπὸ Σαβίνου τοῖς Νωρικοῖς, ὧν ἄρξας οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἐπε-
3 ποιήκει, αἴσχιστα πέπονθε· καὶ εἴδομεν αὐτὸν ἐπί τε τῆς γῆς κείμενον καὶ ἱκετεύοντα οἰκτρῶς, καὶ εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν Ἄσπακα[1] τὸν θεῖον αὐτοῦ φειδοῦς ἔτυχε, κἂν ἀπωλώλει οἰκτρῶς. ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἄσπαξ οὗτος δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο σκῶψαι, στωμύλασθαι, πάντων ἀνθρώπων καταφρονῆσαι, φίλοις χαρίσασθαι, ἐχθρὸν ἀμύνασθαι.
4 καὶ αὐτοῦ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους πικρὰ καὶ ἀστεῖα ἀποφθέγματα φέρεται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σεουῆρον αὐτόν. ὧν ἓν καὶ τοῦτο· ἐς γὰρ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ τὸ τοῦ Μάρκου ἐγγραφέντος "συγχαίρω σοι, Καῖσαρ," ἔφη, "ὅτι πατέρα εὗρες," ὡς καὶ ἀπάτορος αὐτοῦ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ὑπ' ἀφανείας[2] ὄντος.

10 Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ Βούλλας[3] τις Ἰταλὸς ἀνήρ, λῃστήριον συστησάμενος[4] ὡς ἑξακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, ἐλῄζετο τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο, παρόντων μὲν τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, παρόντων δὲ καὶ

[1] Probably a corruption on the part of the excerptor for Αὔσπικα (and similarly just below).

out of the senate-chamber bewailing his fate. When A.D. 205 he had passed through the Forum, he refused to proceed farther, but just where he was took leave of his children, four in number, and spoke these most affecting words: "There is only one thing that causes me sorrow, my children, and that is that I leave you behind alive." Then his head was cut off, before Severus even learned that he had been condemned. Just vengeance, however, befell Pollenius Sebennus, who had preferred the charge that caused Marcellinus' death. He was delivered up by Sabinus to the Norici, whom he had treated in anything but a decent fashion while acting as their governor, and he had to endure a most shameful experience; we saw him lying on the ground and pleading piteously, and had he not obtained mercy, because of Auspex, his uncle, he would have perished miserably. This Auspex was the cleverest man imaginable for jokes and chit-chat, for despising all mankind, gratifying his friends, and taking vengeance on an enemy. Many bitter and witty sayings of his are reported, addressed to various persons, many even to Severus himself. Here is one of the latter kind. When the emperor was enrolled in the family of Marcus, Auspex said: "I congratulate you, Caesar, upon finding a father," implying that up to that time he had been fatherless by reason of his obscure birth.

At this period one Bulla, an Italian, got together a A.D. 206–207(?) robber band of about six hundred men, and for two years continued to plunder Italy under the very

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[2] ἀφανείας Sylb., ἀφανεία VC.
[3] Βούλλας Zon., βούλας VC.
[4] συστησάμενος Zon., στησάμενος VC.

2 στρατιωτῶν τοσούτων. ἐδιώκετο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ συχνῶν ἀνδρῶν, φιλοτίμως αὐτὸν ἀνιχνεύοντος τοῦ Σεουήρου, οὔτε δὲ ἑωρᾶτο ὁρώμενος οὔτε εὑρίσκετο εὑρισκόμενος οὔτε κατελαμβάνετο ἁλισκόμενος· τοσαύτῃ καὶ μεγαλοδωρίᾳ καὶ σοφίᾳ ἐχρῆτο. ἐμάνθανε γὰρ πάντας τούς τε ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξιόντας καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον καταίροντας, τίνες τε καὶ πόσοι εἰσί, καὶ τίνα καὶ 3 ὁπόσα κέκτηνται· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, μέρος ἄν τι παρ' αὐτῶν ὧν εἶχον λαβών, εὐθὺς ἠφίει, τοὺς δὲ δὴ τεχνίτας κατεῖχε χρόνον τινά, καὶ χρησάμενός σφισιν, εἶτα καὶ προσδούς[1] τι ἀπέλυε. καί ποτε δύο λῃστῶν αὐτοῦ ἁλόντων καὶ θηρίοις δοθήσεσθαι μελλόντων πρός τε τὸν δεσμοφύλακα κατῆλθε, πλασάμενος ὡς τῆς πατρίδος[2] ἄρχων καί τινων ἀνθρώπων τοιούτων δεόμενος, καὶ οὕτω 4 λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἔσωσε. τῷ δὲ ἑκατοντάρχῳ τῷ τὸ λῃστρικὸν καθαιροῦντι προσελθὼν κατηγόρησεν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ ὥσπερ ἄλλος τις ὤν, καὶ ὑπέσχετο, εἰ ἀκολουθήσει αὐτῷ, παραδοῦναί οἱ τὸν λῃστήν· καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐς κοῖλόν τινα καὶ λοχμώδη[3] τόπον ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Φήλικα[4] ἀγαγὼν (καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸς προσωνόμαστο) ῥᾳδίως συνέλαβε. 5 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβη σχῆμα ἄρχοντος ἀναλαβών, καὶ καλέσας τὸν ἑκατόνταρχον τῆς τε κεφαλῆς ἀπεξύρησε, καὶ ἔφη "ἄγγελλε τοῖς δεσπόταις σου ὅτι τοὺς δούλους ὑμῶν τρέφετε, ἵνα μὴ λῃστεύωσι." πλείστους γὰρ

[1] προσδούς Sylb., προδούς VC.
[2] τῆς πατρίδος perhaps corrupt; Bs. suggests τῆς πόλεως.
[3] λοχμώδη H. Steph., λογγώδη VC Zon.
[4] Φήλικα Leuncl., φίληκα VC.

noses of the emperors and of a multitude of soldiers. For though he was pursued by many men, and though Severus eagerly followed his trail, he was never really seen when seen, never found when found, never caught when caught, thanks to his great bribes and his cleverness. For he learned of everybody that was setting out from Rome and everybody that was putting into port at Brundisium, and knew both who and how many there were, and what and how much they had with them. In the case of most persons he would take a part of what they had and let them go at once, but he detained artisans for a time and made use of their skill, then dismissed them with a present. Once, when two of his men had been captured and were about to be given to wild beasts, he paid a visit to the keeper of the prison, pretending that he was the governor of his native district [1] and needed some men of such and such a description, and in this way he secured and saved the men. And he approached the centurion who was trying to exterminate the band and accused himself, pretending to be someone else, and promised, if the centurion would accompany him, to deliver the robber to him. So, on the pretext that he was leading him to Felix (this was another name by which he was called), he led him into a defile beset with thickets, and easily seized him. Later, he assumed the dress of a magistrate, ascended the tribunal, and having summoned the centurion, caused part of his head to be shaved, and then said: "Carry this message to your masters: 'Feed your slaves, so that they may not turn to brigandage.'"

A.D. 206–207(?)

[1] Or "of the city." See critical note.

ὅσους τῶν Καισαρείων εἶχε, τοὺς μὲν ὀλιγομίσθους
6 τοὺς δὲ καὶ παντελῶς ἀμίσθους γεγονότας. ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Σεουῆρος ὡς ἕκαστα πυνθανόμενος, ὀργῇ ἔφερεν ὅτι ἐν τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ τοὺς πολέμους δι' ἑτέρων νικῶν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ λῃστοῦ ἥττων ἐγένετο· καὶ τέλος χιλίαρχον ἐκ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων σὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς ἔστειλε, δεινὰ ἄττα αὐτῷ ἀπειλήσας, ἂν μὴ ζῶντα αὐτὸν ἀγάγῃ. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος μαθὼν ὅτι γυναικί τινι ἀλλοτρίᾳ χρῷτο, ἀνέπεισεν αὐτὴν διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπ' ἀδείᾳ[1]
7 συνάρασθαι σφίσι. κἀκ τούτου ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινὶ καθεύδων συνελήφθη. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Παπινιανὸς[2] ὁ ἔπαρχος ἀνήρετο "διὰ τί ἐλῄστευσας;" καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεκρίνατο "διὰ τί σὺ ἔπαρχος εἶ;" καὶ θηρίοις μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ κηρύγματος ἐδόθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ λῃστρικὸν διελύθη· οὕτω που ἐν ἐκείνῳ πᾶσα ἡ τῶν ἑξακοσίων ἰσχὺς ἦν.

11 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Σεουῆρος ἐπὶ Βρεττανίαν ἐστράτευσε τούς τε παῖδας ἐκδιαιτωμένους ὁρῶν καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ὑπὸ ἀργίας ἐκλυόμενα, καίπερ εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐκ ἀνακομισθήσεται. ᾔδει δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀστέρων ὑφ' ὧν ἐγεγέννητο[3] (καὶ γὰρ ἐς τὰς ὀροφὰς αὐτοὺς τῶν οἴκων τῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, ἐν οἷς ἐδίκαζεν, ἐνέγραψεν, ὥστε πᾶσι, πλὴν τοῦ μορίου τοῦ τὴν ὥραν, ὥς φασιν, ἐπισκοπήσαντος ὅτε ἐς τὸ φῶς ἐξῄει, ὁρᾶσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ τὸ αὐτὸ ἑκατέρωθι ἐνετύπωσεν), ᾔδει δὲ
2 καὶ παρὰ μάντεων ἀκούσας. ἀνδριάντι γὰρ αὐτοῦ

[1] ἀδείᾳ Rk., ἀδείας VC.
[2] Παπινιανὸς R. Steph., παπιανὸς VC.
[3] ἐγεγέννητο R. Steph., ἐγεγένητο VC.

[1] *i.e.* the horoscope.

Bulla had with him, in fact, a very large number of imperial freedmen, some of whom had been poorly paid, while others had received absolutely no pay at all. Severus, informed of these various occurrences, was angry at the thought that though he was winning the wars in Britain through others, yet he himself had proved no match for a robber in Italy; and finally he sent a tribune from his body-guard with many horsemen, after threatening him with dire punishment if he should fail to bring back the robber alive. So this tribune, having learned that the brigand was intimate with another man's wife, persuaded her through her husband to assist them on promise of immunity. As a result, the robber was arrested while asleep in a cave. Papinian, the prefect, asked him, "Why did you become a robber?" And he replied: "Why are you a prefect?" Later, after due proclamation, he was given to wild beasts, and his band was broken up—to such an extent did the strength of the whole six hundred lie in him.

A.D. 206–207(?)

Severus, seeing that his sons were changing their mode of life and that the legions were becoming enervated by idleness, made a campaign against Britain, though he knew that he should not return. He knew this chiefly from the stars under which he had been born, for he had caused them to be painted on the ceilings of the rooms in the palace where he was wont to hold court, so that they were visible to all, with the exception of that portion of the sky which, as astrologers express it, "observed the hour"[1] when he first saw the light; for this portion he had not depicted in the same way in both rooms. He knew his fate also by what he had heard from the seers; for a thunderbolt had struck a statue of

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πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις δι' ὧν ἐκστρατεύσειν ἔμελλεν ἑστῶτι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκεῖσε φέρουσαν ἀποβλέποντι, σκηπτὸς ἐμπεσὼν τρία ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ γράμματα ἀπήλειψε· καὶ διὰ τοῦθ', ὡς οἱ μάντεις ἀπεφήναντο, οὐκ ἐπανῆκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτῳ ἔτει μετὰ τοῦτο μετήλλαξε. καὶ χρήματα δὲ πάμπολλα συνεξήγαγε.—Xiph. 318, 29—321, 24 R. St.

12 Δύο δὲ γένη τῶν Βρεττανῶν μέγιστά εἰσι, Καληδόνιοι καὶ Μαιάται· καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσρήματα ὡς εἰπεῖν συγκεχώρηκεν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν Μαιάται πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διατειχίσματι ὃ τὴν νῆσον δίχῃ τέμνει, Καληδόνιοι δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους, καὶ νέμονται ἑκάτεροι ὄρη ἄγρια καὶ ἄνυδρα καὶ πεδία ἔρημα καὶ ἑλώδη, μήτε τείχη μήτε πόλεις μήτε γεωργίας ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἔκ τε νομῆς καὶ θήρας ἀκροδρύων τέ τινων ζῶντες· 2 τῶν γὰρ ἰχθύων ἀπείρων καὶ ἀπλέτων ὄντων οὐ γεύονται. διαιτῶνται δὲ ἐν σκηναῖς γυμνοὶ καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι,[1] ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπικοίνοις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα κοινῶς[2] ἐκτρέφοντες. δημοκρατοῦνταί τε ὡς πλήθει, καὶ λῃστεύουσιν ἥδιστα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄρχοντας τοὺς θρασυ- 3 τάτους αἱροῦνται.[3] στρατεύονται δὲ ἐπί τε ἁρμάτων, ἵππους ἔχοντες μικροὺς καὶ ταχεῖς,[4] καὶ πεζοί· καί εἰσι καὶ δραμεῖν ὀξύτατοι καὶ συστῆναι παγιώτατοι. τὰ δὲ ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἀσπὶς

his which stood near the gates through which he was intending to march out and looked toward the road leading to his destination, and it had erased three letters from his name. For this reason, as the seers made clear, he did not return, but died in the third year.[1] He took along with him an immense amount of money. A.D. 208

There are two principal races of the Britons, the Caledonians and the Maeatae, and the names of the others have been merged in these two. The Maeatae live next to the cross-wall which cuts the island in half, and the Caledonians are beyond them. Both tribes inhabit wild and waterless mountains and desolate and swampy plains, and possess neither walls, cities, nor tilled fields, but live on their flocks, wild game, and certain fruits; for they do not touch the fish which are there found in immense and inexhaustible quantities. They dwell in tents, naked and unshod, possess their women in common, and in common rear all the offspring. Their form of rule is democratic for the most part, and they are very fond of plundering; consequently they choose their boldest men as rulers. They go into battle in chariots, and have small, swift horses; there are also foot-soldiers, very swift in running and very firm in standing their ground. For arms they have a shield

[1] Apparently the inscription was in Greek and the name in the dative case (ΣΕΒΗΡΩ). With the loss of the first three letters this would become ΗΡΩ, the dative of ἥρως (hero, demigod).

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[1] ἀνυπόδητοι Dind., ἀνυπόδετοι VC Zon. Treu.
[2] κοινῶς Treu, om. VC.
[3] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο—αἱροῦνται Treu, om. VC.
[4] καὶ ταχεῖς Zon. Treu, ταχεῖς VC.

καὶ δόρυ βραχύ,[1] μῆλον χαλκοῦν ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ στύρακος ἔχον, ὥστε σειόμενον κτυπεῖν πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἐναντίων· εἰσὶ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ 4 ἐγχειρίδια. δύνανται δὲ καὶ λιμὸν καὶ ψῦχος καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν πᾶσαν ὑπομένειν· ἔς τε γὰρ τὰ ἕλη καταδυόμενοι καρτεροῦσιν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνην[2] ἔξω τοῦ ὕδατος ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις τῷ τε φλοιῷ καὶ ταῖς ῥίζαις διατρέφονται, καὶ πρὸς πάντα[3] σκευάζουσί τι βρῶμα, ἀφ' οὗ κυάμου τι μέγεθος ἐμφαγόντες οὔτε πεινῶσιν οὔτε διψῶσι.—Xiph. 321, 24—322, 12 R. St., Treu Exc. Anon. Byz. p. 21, 26—22, 15.

5 Τοιαύτη μέν τις νῆσος ἡ Βρεττανία ἐστί, καὶ τοιούτους οἰκήτορας ἥ γε πολεμία ἔχει. νῆσος γάρ ἐστι, καὶ τότε σαφῶς ὥσπερ εἶπον ἐλήλεγκται. καὶ αὐτῆς τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιοι ἑπτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα δύο εἰσί, τοῦ δὲ δὴ πλάτους τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον δέκα καὶ τριακόσιοι καὶ δισχίλιοι, τὸ δὲ ἐλάχιστον τριακόσιοι· καὶ τούτων ἡμεῖς οὐ πολλῷ τινὶ τῆς ἡμισείας ἔλαττόν τι ἔχομεν.

13 Ὁ δ' οὖν Σεουῆρος πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καταστρέψασθαι ἐθελήσας[4] ἐσέβαλεν ἐς τὴν Καληδονίαν, καὶ διιὼν αὐτὴν ἀμύθητα πράγματα ἔσχε, τάς τε ὕλας τέμνων καὶ τὰ μετέωρα κατασκάπτων τά τε ἕλη χωννύων καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς 2 ζευγνύων· οὔτε γὰρ μάχην τινὰ ἐμαχέσατο οὔτε πολέμιόν τινα ἐν παρατάξει εἶδε. πρόβατα δὲ

[1] Cf. Treu 22, 8, 9: ἀσπίδα μόνην ἔχοντες ἀντὶ κράνους καὶ θώρακος καὶ κνημίδων.
[2] μόνην Zon. Treu, μόνον VC.
[3] πρὸς πάντα Bs., περὶ πάντα VC.

and a short spear,[1] with a bronze apple attached to the end of the spear-shaft, so that when it is shaken it may clash and terrify the enemy; and they also have daggers. They can endure hunger and cold and any kind of hardship; for they plunge into the swamps and exist there for many days with only their heads above water, and in the forests they support themselves upon bark and roots, and for all emergencies they prepare a certain kind of food, the eating of a small portion of which, the size of a bean, prevents them from feeling either hunger or thirst. A.D. 208

Such is the general character of the island of Britain and such are the inhabitants of at least the hostile part of it. For it is an island, and the fact, as I have stated,[2] was clearly proved at that time. Its length is 951 miles, its greatest breadth 308, and its least 40.[3] Of all this territory we hold a little less than one half.

Severus, accordingly, desiring to subjugate the whole of it, invaded Caledonia. But as he advanced through the country he experienced countless hardships in cutting down the forests, levelling the heights, filling up the swamps, and bridging the rivers; but he fought no battle and beheld no enemy in battle array. The enemy purposely put sheep

[1] Cf. Treu's excerpt: "having only a shield in place of helmet, breastplate and greaves."

[2] Cf. xxxix. 50, 4, lxvi. 20.

[3] Literally, 7132, 2310, and 300 stades, respectively. $7\frac{1}{2}$ stades are here reckoned to the mile (cf. Vol. III., p. 237 n.). Jordanes (*Get.* 2, 11), whose source is Dio, gives the same figures in stades for the first two dimensions, but omits the third.

[4] *ἐθελήσας* Bk., *θελήσας* VC.

καὶ βοῦς προβαλλομένων αὐτῶν ἐξεπίτηδες οἱ στρατιῶται ἥρπαζον, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀπατώμενοι τρύχωνται· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων δεινῶς ἐκακοῦντο καὶ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι ἐπεβουλεύοντο. εἶτ' ἀδυνατοῦντες βαδίζειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκείων ἐφονεύοντο ἵνα μὴ ἁλίσκωνται, ὥστε ἐς πέντε 3 μυριάδας ὅλας τελευτῆσαι. οὐ μέντοι ἀπέστη γε πρὶν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τῆς νήσου πλησιάσαι, ὅπου γε τὰ μάλιστα τήν τε τοῦ ἡλίου παράλλαξιν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν τε νυκτῶν καὶ τῶν θερινῶν καὶ τῶν χειμερινῶν μέγεθος ἀκριβέστατα κατεφώρασε. 4 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω διὰ πάσης ὡς εἰπεῖν τῆς πολεμίας κομισθείς (ἐκομίσθη γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγῳ τινὶ τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν) ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἐπανῆλθεν, ἐς ὁμολογίαν τοὺς Βρεττανούς, ἐπὶ τῷ χώρας οὐκ ὀλίγης ἐκστῆναι, ἀναγκάσας ἐλθεῖν.

14 Ἐξέπληττε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ἐς φροντίδας ἀνηνύτους καθίστη, ὅτι τε ἀκολάστως ἔζη, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν δῆλος ἦν, εἰ δυνηθείη, φονεύσων, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐπεβούλευσε. ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐξεπήδησεν ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τοῦ σκηνώματος βοῶν καὶ κεκραγὼς ὡς ὑπὸ 2 τοῦ Κάστορος ἀδικούμενος· οὗτος δὲ ἀνὴρ ἄριστος τῶν περὶ τὸν Σεουῆρον Καισαρείων ἦν, καὶ ἐπεπίστευτο τήν τε μνήμην[1] αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν κοιτῶνα. καὶ συνέστησαν μέν τινες ἐπὶ τούτῳ στρατιῶται προπαρεσκευασμένοι καὶ συνεβόησαν, κατελή-

[1] μνήμην Hirschfeld, γνώμην VC.

and cattle in front of the soldiers for them to seize, in order that they might be lured on still further until they were worn out; for in fact the water[1] caused great suffering to the Romans, and when they became scattered, they would be attacked. Then, unable to walk, they would be slain by their own men, in order to avoid capture, so that a full fifty thousand died. But Severus did not desist until he had approached the extremity of the island. Here he observed most accurately the variation of the sun's motion and the length of the days and the nights in summer and winter respectively. Having thus been conveyed through practically the whole of the hostile country (for he actually was conveyed in a covered litter most of the way, on account of his infirmity), he returned to the friendly portion, after he had forced the Britons to come to terms, on the condition that they should abandon a large part of their territory.

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Antoninus was causing him alarm and endless anxiety by his intemperate life, by his evident intention to murder his brother if the chance should offer, and, finally, by plotting against the emperor himself. Once he dashed suddenly out of his quarters, shouting and bawling out that he was being wronged by Castor. This man was the best of the freedmen in attendance upon Severus, and held the offices of both secretary[2] and chamberlain. Thereupon certain soldiers who had been got ready beforehand assembled and joined in the outcry;

[1] Apparently they were thus lured into the swamps, whose waters their bodies could not endure as the Britons could; cf. Herodian iii. 14, 6.

[2] The office known as *a memoria*.

φθησαν δὲ δι' ὀλίγου αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Σεουήρου ἐπιφανέντος σφίσι καὶ τοὺς ταραχωδεστέρους
3 κολάσαντος. ἄλλοτε δὲ προσήλαυνον μὲν ἀμφότεροι πρὸς τοὺς Καληδονίους, ἵνα τά τε ὅπλα παρ' αὐτῶν λάβωσι καὶ περὶ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν διαλεχθῶσιν, ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἐπεχείρησεν. ᾔεσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἵππων, καὶ ὁ Σεουῆρος, καίπερ καὶ τοὺς ταρσοὺς ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας ὑποτετακώς,[1] ὅμως ἵππευσε καὶ αὐτός, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα συνεφείπετο,
4 τό τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ αὐτὸ συνεωρᾶτο· κἀν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ τῇ τε σιγῇ καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τὸν ἵππον ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀναχαιτίσας ἐσπάσατο τὸ ξίφος ὡς καὶ κατὰ νώτου τὸν πατέρα πατάξων. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ συνιππεύοντες ἐξεβόησαν, καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνός τε ἐκπλαγεὶς οὐκέτι οὐδὲν ἔδρασε, καὶ ὁ Σεουῆρος μετεστράφη μὲν πρὸς τὴν βοὴν αὐτῶν καὶ εἶδε τὸ ξίφος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐφθέγξατό τι, ἀλλ' ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, καὶ τελέσας ὅσα ἐχρῆν,
5 ἐς τὸ στρατήγιον ἐπανῆλθε. καὶ καλέσας τόν τε υἱὸν καὶ τὸν Παπινιανὸν[2] καὶ τὸν Κάστορα ξίφος τέ τι τεθῆναι ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἐγκαλέσας αὐτῷ ὅτι τε ἄλλως τοιοῦτόν τι ἐτόλμησε καὶ ὅτι πάντων ὁρώντων τῶν τε συμμάχων καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τηλικοῦτον κακὸν δράσειν ἔμελλεν, τέλος ἔφη· "ἀλλ' εἴγε ἀποσφάξαι με ἐπιθυμεῖς,
6 ἐνταῦθά με κατάχρησαι· ἔρρωσαι γάρ, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ γέρων εἰμὶ καὶ κεῖμαι. ὡς εἴγε τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀναδύῃ, τὸ δὲ αὐτόχειρ μου γενέσθαι ὀκνεῖς,

[1] ὑποτετακώς Capps, ὑποτετμηκώς VC, ὑποτετμημένος Rk., ὑποτετηκώς or ὑποσεσηπώς Bs., ὑπεσκληκώς Kuiper.

[2] Παπινιανὸν R. Steph., παπιανὸν VC (and similarly below).

but they were quickly checked when Severus himself appeared among them and punished the more unruly ones. On another occasion, when both were riding forward to meet the Caledonians, in order to receive their arms and discuss the details of the truce, Antoninus attempted to kill his father outright with his own hand. They were proceeding on horseback, Severus also being mounted, in spite of the fact that he had somewhat strained[1] his feet as the result of an infirmity, and the rest of the army was following; the enemy's force were likewise spectators. At this juncture, while all were proceeding in silence and in order, Antoninus reined in his horse and drew his sword, as if he were going to strike his father in the back. But the others who were riding with them, upon seeing this, cried out, and so Antoninus, in alarm, desisted from his attempt. Severus turned at their shout and saw the sword, yet he did not utter a word, but ascended the tribunal, finished what he had to do, and returned to headquarters. Then he summoned his son, together with Papinian and Castor, ordered a sword to be placed within easy reach, and upbraided the youth for having dared to do such a thing at all and especially for having been on the point of committing so monstrous a crime in the sight of all, both the allies and the enemy. And finally he said: "Now if you really want to slay me, put me out of the way here; for you are strong, while I am an old man and prostrate. For, if you do not shrink from the deed, but hesitate to murder me with your own

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[1] The text is uncertain at this point; see critical note. Severus' infirmity was the gout; cf. ch. 16, 1 and Spart., *Sever.* 16, 6 (*affectus articulari morbo*).

παρέστηκέ σοι Παπινιανὸς ὁ ἔπαρχος, ᾧ δύνασαι κελεῦσαι ἵνα με ἐξεργάσηται· πάντως γάρ που πᾶν τὸ κελευσθὲν ὑπὸ σοῦ, ἅτε καὶ αὐτοκράτορος 7 ὄντος, ποιήσει." τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν ὅμως οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτὸν ἔδρασε, καίπερ πολλάκις μὲν τὸν Μᾶρκον αἰτιασάμενος ὅτι τὸν Κόμμοδον οὐχ ὑπεξεῖλε, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ υἱεῖ ἀπειλήσας τοῦτο ποιήσειν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν ὀργιζόμενος ἀεί ποτε ἔλεγε, τότε δὲ φιλότεκνος μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόπολις ἐγένετο· καίτοι καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἐν τούτῳ παῖδα προέδωκε, σαφῶς εἰδὼς τὰ γενησόμενα.

15 Ἀποστάντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ αὖθις, καλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ οἷς ἂν ἐντύχωσιν ἀποκτεῖναι, αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰπών,

"μή τις ὑπεκφύγοι αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον
χεῖράς θ' ἡμετέρας, μηδ' ὅντινα γαστέρι μήτηρ[1]
κοῦρον ἐόντα φέροι· μηδ' ὃς φύγοι[2] αἰπὺν
ὄλεθρον."

2 γενομένου δὲ τούτου, καὶ τῶν Καληδονίων προσαποστάντων τοῖς Μαιάταις, ἡτοιμάζετο μὲν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς πολεμήσων, καὶ αὐτὸν περὶ ταῦτ' ἔχοντα ἡ νόσος τῇ τετάρτῃ τοῦ Φεβρουαρίου ἀπήνεγκε, συνεργασαμένου τι πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου, ὡς λέγεται. πρὶν γοῦν μεταλλάξαι, τάδε λέγεται τοῖς παισὶν εἰπεῖν (ἐρῶ γὰρ αὐτὰ τὰ λεχθέντα, μηδὲν ὅ τι καλλωπίσας)· "ὁμονοεῖτε, τοὺς στρατιώτας πλουτίζετε, τῶν

[1] μήτηρ supplied by H. Steph.
[2] φύγοι C, φύγη VC[1].

hands, there is Papinian, the prefect, standing beside you, whom you can order to slay me; for surely he will do anything that you command, since you are virtually emperor." Though he spoke in this fashion, he nevertheless did Antoninus no harm, and that in spite of the fact that he had often blamed Marcus for not putting Commodus quietly out of the way and that he had himself often threatened to act thus toward his son. Such threats, however, were always uttered under the influence of anger, whereas on the present occasion he allowed his love for his offspring to outweigh his love for his country; and yet in doing so he betrayed his other son, for he well knew what would happen. A.D. 210

When the inhabitants of the island again revolted, he summoned the soldiers and ordered them to invade the rebels' country, killing everybody they met; and he quoted these words:

> "Let no one escape sheer destruction,
> No one our hands, not even the babe in the womb of the mother,
> If it be male; let it nevertheless not escape sheer destruction." [1]

When this had been done, and the Caledonians had joined the revolt of the Maeatae, he began preparing to make war upon them in person. While he was thus engaged, his sickness carried him off on the fourth of February, not without some help, they say, from Antoninus. At all events, before Severus died, he is reported to have spoken thus to his sons (I give his exact words without any embellishment): "Be harmonious, enrich the soldiers, A.D. 211

[1] Homer, *Il.* vi. 57–59, slightly changed at the end.

3 *ἄλλων πάντων καταφρονεῖτε.*" *ἐκ δὲ τούτου τό τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ στρατιωτικῶς κοσμηθὲν ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἐτέθη καὶ τῇ τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν παίδων περιδρομῇ ἐτιμήθη, τά τε δῶρα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ οἵ τι τῶν παρόντων ἔχοντες ἐς* 4 *αὐτὴν ἐνέβαλον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ οἱ υἱεῖς ἐνῆκαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐς ὑδρίαν πορφυροῦ λίθου ἐμβληθέντα ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη καὶ ἐς τὸ Ἀντωνινεῖον*[1] *ἀπετέθη. λέγεται δὲ τὴν ὑδρίαν ὀλίγον πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου μεταπέμψασθαί τε αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπιψηλαφήσαντα εἰπεῖν* "*χωρήσεις ἄνδρα ὃν ἡ οἰκουμένη οὐκ ἐχώρησεν.*"—Xiph. 322, 12—324, 25 R. St.

16 *Ἦν δὲ τὸ σῶμα βραχὺς μὲν ἰσχυρὸς δέ, καίπερ ἀσθενέστατος ὑπὸ τῆς ποδάγρας γενόμενος, τὴν δὲ δὴ ψυχὴν καὶ δριμύτατος καὶ ἐρρωμενέστατος· παιδείας μὲν γὰρ ἐπεθύμει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπετύγχανε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολυγνώμων μᾶλλον ἢ πολύλογος ἦν. φίλοις οὐκ ἀμνήμων, ἐχθροῖς βαρύτατος, ἐπιμελὴς μὲν πάντων ὧν πρᾶξαι ἤθελεν,*[2] *ἀμελὴς δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ λογοποιουμένων· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρήματα ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον* 3 *οὐδένα ἕνεκα αὐτῶν*[3] *ἀπέκτεινε, πορίζων, πάντα μὲν τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐδαπάνα ἀφθονώτατα, καὶ πλεῖστά γε καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων οἰκοδομημάτων ἀνεκτήσατο, καί σφισι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ὄνομα ὡς καὶ ἐκ καινῆς αὐτὰ καὶ ἐξ ἰδίων χρημάτων κατεσκευακὼς ἐπέγραψε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μάτην ἔς τε ἐπισκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς ἑτέρων ἀνάλωσεν, ὅς γε καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ νεὼν ὑπερμεγέθη* 4 *ᾠκοδομήσατο. καίτοι δὲ πάμπλειστα δαπανήσας,*

[1] Ἀντωνίνειον H. Steph., ἀντωνίειον VC.

and scorn all other men." After this his body, A.D. 211 arrayed in military garb, was placed upon a pyre, and as a mark of honour the soldiers and his sons ran about it; and as for the soldiers' gifts, those who had things at hand to offer as gifts threw them upon it, and his sons applied the fire. Afterwards his bones were put in an urn of purple stone,[1] carried to Rome, and deposited in the tomb of the Antonines. It is said that Severus sent for the urn shortly before his death, and after feeling of it, remarked: "Thou shalt hold a man that the world could not hold."

Severus was small of stature but powerful, though he eventually grew very weak from gout; mentally he was very keen and very vigorous. As for education, he was eager for more than he obtained, and for this reason was a man of few words, though of many ideas. Toward friends not forgetful, to enemies most oppressive, he was careful of everything that he desired to accomplish, but careless of what was said about him. Hence he raised money from every source, except that he killed no one to get it, and he met all necessary expenditures quite ungrudgingly. He restored a very large number of the ancient buildings and inscribed on them his own name, just as if he had erected them in the first place from his own private funds. He also spent a great deal uselessly in repairing other buildings and in constructing new ones; for instance, he built a temple of huge size to Bacchus and Hercules. Yet, though his expenditures were enormous, he nevertheless

[1] Porphyry? Herodian (iii. 15, 7) says alabaster.

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[2] *μὲν—ἤθελεν* cod. Peir., *τῶν πρακτέων* VC.
[3] *ἕνεκα αὐτῶν* cod. Peir., *τούτων χάριν* VC.

ὅμως οὐκ εὐαριθμήτους τινὰς μυριάδας δραχμῶν καταλέλοιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πολλάς. καὶ ἐνεκάλει μὲν τοῖς μὴ σωφρονοῦσιν,[1] ὡς καὶ περὶ τῆς μοιχείας νομοθετῆσαί τινα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γραφαὶ αὐτῆς ὅσαι πλεῖσται ἐγένοντο (τρισχιλίας γοῦν ὑπατεύων εὗρον ἐν τῷ πίνακι ἐγγεγραμμένας)· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀλίγοι πάνυ αὐταῖς ἐπεξῄεσαν,
5 οὐκέτι οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐπολυπραγμόνει. ὅθεν καὶ μάλα ἀστείως Ἀργεντοκόξου τινὸς γυνὴ Καληδονίου πρὸς τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὔγουσταν, ἀποσκώπτουσάν τι πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνέδην σφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας συνουσίᾳ, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι "πολλῷ ἄμεινον ἡμεῖς τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαῖα ἀποπληροῦμεν ὑμῶν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν· ἡμεῖς γὰρ φανερῶς τοῖς ἀρίστοις ὁμιλοῦμεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ λάθρᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων μοιχεύεσθε."—Xiph. 324, 25—325, 15 R. St., Exc. Val. 353 (p. 741).

17 Τοῦτο μὲν ἡ Βρεττανὶς εἶπεν, ἐχρῆτο δὲ ὁ Σεουῆρος καταστάσει τοῦ βίου εἰρήνης οὔσης τοιᾷδε. ἔπραττέ τι πάντως νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐβάδιζε[2] καὶ λέγων καὶ ἀκούων τὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ πρόσφορα· εἶτ' ἐδίκαζε, χωρὶς εἰ μή τις ἑορτὴ μεγάλη εἴη. καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἄριστα αὐτὸ[3] ἔπραττε· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς δικαζομένοις ὕδωρ ἱκανὸν ἐνέχει, καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς συνδικάζουσιν αὐτῷ παρρησίαν πολλὴν ἐδίδου.
2 ἔκρινε δὲ μέχρι μεσημβρίας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦθ' ἵππευεν ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν ἐδυνήθη· εἶτ' ἐλοῦτο, γυμνασάμενός τινα τρόπον. ἠρίστα δὲ ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὸν

[1] σωφρονοῦσιν Xyl., φρονοῦσιν VC.
[2] ἐβάδιζε C Zon., ἐδίκαζε V.

left behind, not some few easily-counted tens of thousands, but very many tens of thousands. Again, he rebuked such persons as were not chaste, even going so far as to enact some laws in regard to adultery. In consequence, there were ever so many indictments for that offence (for example, when consul, I found three thousand entered on the docket); but, inasmuch as very few persons prosecuted these cases, he, too, ceased to trouble himself about them. In this connexion, a very witty remark is reported to have been made by the wife of Argentocoxus, a Caledonian, to Julia Augusta. When the empress was jesting with her, after the treaty, about the free intercourse of her sex with men in Britain, she replied: "We fulfil the demands of nature in a much better way than do you Roman women; for we consort openly with the best men, whereas you let yourselves be debauched in secret by the vilest." Such was the retort of the British woman.

A.D. 211

The following is the manner of life that Severus followed in time of peace. He was sure to be doing something before dawn, and afterwards he would take a walk, telling and hearing of the interests of the empire. Then he would hold court, unless there were some great festival. Moreover, he used to do this most excellently; for he allowed the litigants plenty of time[1] and he gave us, his advisers, full liberty to speak. He used to hear cases until noon; then he would ride, so far as his strength permitted, and afterward take some kind of gymnastic exercise and a bath. He then ate a

[1] See note on lxxi (lxxii). 6.

[3] αὐτὸ H. Steph., αὐτῷ VC.

ἢ μετὰ τῶν παίδων, οὐκ ἐνδεῶς. εἶτ' ἐκάθευδεν ὡς πλήθει· ἔπειτ' ἐξαρθεὶς τά τε λοιπὰ προσδιῴκει καὶ λόγοις καὶ Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Λατίνοις

3 συνεγίνετο ἐν περιπάτῳ. εἶθ' οὕτω πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐλοῦτο[1] αὖθις, καὶ ἐδείπνει μετὰ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν· ἥκιστά τε γὰρ ἄλλον τινὰ συνέστιον ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ ἐν μόναις ταῖς πάνυ ἀναγκαίαις ἡμέραις τὰ

4 πολυτελῆ δεῖπνα συνεκρότει. ἐβίω δὲ ἔτη ἑξήκοντα πέντε καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι[2] (τῇ γὰρ ἑνδεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου ἐγεγέννητο), ἀφ' ὧν ἦρξεν ἔτη ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς. τό τε σύμπαν οὕτως ἐνεργὸς ἐγένετο ὥστε καὶ ἀποψύχων ἀναφθέγξασθαι· "ἄγετε, δότε, εἴ τι πρᾶξαι ἔχομεν."—Xiph. 325, 15—32 R. St.

[1] ἐλοῦτο Bk., ἐλούετο VC Zon.

plentiful luncheon, either by himself or with his sons. Next, he generally took a nap. Then he rose, attended to his remaining duties, and afterwards, while walking about, engaged in discussion in both Greek and Latin. Then, toward evening, he would bathe again and dine with his associates; for he very rarely invited any guest to dinner, and only on days when it was quite unavoidable did he arrange expensive banquets. He lived sixty-five years, nine months, and twenty-five days, for he was born on the eleventh of April. Of this period he had ruled for seventeen years, eight months, and three days. In fine, he showed himself so active that even when expiring he gasped: "Come, give it here, if we have anything to do." A.D. 211

[2] *πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι* VC, cod. Paris. 1712, *ἐννέα καὶ εἴκοσι* Zon.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVIII

LXXVII 1, 1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος πᾶσαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔλαβε· λόγῳ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, τῷ δὲ δὴ ἔργῳ μόνος εὐθὺς ἦρξε. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους κατελύσατο καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς ἐξέστη καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἐξέλιπε, τοὺς δὲ δὴ οἰκείους τοὺς μὲν ἀπήλλαξεν, ὧν καὶ Παπινιανὸς[1] ὁ ἔπαρχος ἦν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Εὔοδος ὁ τροφεὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ[2] ὁ Κάστωρ, ἥ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ Πλαυτίλλα καὶ ὁ ταύτης ἀδελφὸς 2 Πλαύτιος. καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δὲ αὐτῇ ἄνδρα ἄλλως μὲν οὐκ ἐλλόγιμον διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν ἐπιφανέστατον ἐξειργάσατο· τὸν γὰρ Εὐπρεπῆ τὸν ἁρματηλάτην, ἐπειδὴ τἀναντία αὐτῷ ἐσπούδαζεν, ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐν γήρᾳ ἀπέθανε, πλείστοις ἀγῶσιν ἵππων στεφανωθείς· δύο γὰρ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους ἀνείλετο, 3 ὅσους οὐδεὶς ἄλλος. τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν ἠθέλησε μὲν καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ πατρὸς φονεῦσαι, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη δὲ οὔτε τότε δι' ἐκεῖνον οὔθ' ὕστερον ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ διὰ τὰ στρατεύματα· πάνυ γὰρ εὔνοιαν αὐτοῦ εἶχον, ἄλλως τε ὅτι καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιότατος τῷ πατρὶ ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἀνῆλθε, 4 καὶ τοῦτον κατειργάσατο. προσεποιοῦντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ φιλεῖν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐπαινεῖν, πάντα δὲ

[1] Παπινιανὸς R. Steph., παπιανὸς VC.
[2] καὶ supplied by Rk.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXVIII

A.D. 211

After this Antoninus assumed the entire power; nominally, it is true, he shared it with his brother, but in reality he ruled alone from the very outset. With the enemy he came to terms, withdrew from their territory, and abandoned the forts; as for his own people, he dismissed some, including Papinian, the prefect, and killed others, among them Euodus his tutor, Castor, and his wife Plautilla, and her brother Plautius. Even in Rome itself he put out of the way a man who was renowned for no other reason than for his profession, which made him very conspicuous. I refer to Euprepes the charioteer. He killed him because he supported the opposite faction to the one he himself favoured. So Euprepes was put to death in his old age, after having been crowned in a vast number of horse-races; for he had won seven hundred and eighty-two crowns, a record equalled by no one else. As for his own brother, Antoninus had wished to slay him even while his father was yet alive, but had been unable to do so at the time because of Severus, or later, on the march, because of the legions; for the troops felt very kindly toward the younger brother, especially as he resembled his father very closely in appearance. But when Antoninus got back to Rome, he made away with him also. The two pretended to love and commend each other, but in all that they did

τὰ ἐναντιώτατα ἕδρων, καὶ ἦν οὐκ ἄδηλον ὅτι δεινόν τι παρ' αὐτῶν γενήσοιτο. ὅπερ που καὶ πρὶν πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν προεγνώσθη· θύειν τε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις θεοῖς καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ Ὁμονοίᾳ ψηφισθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέται τὸ τῇ Ὁμονοίᾳ
5 τυθησόμενον[1] ἱερεῖον ἡτοίμασαν, καὶ ὁ ὕπατος ὡς καὶ βουθυτήσων ἀφίκετο, οὔτε δὲ οὗτος ἐκείνους οὔθ' οἱ ὑπηρέται τὸν ὕπατον εὑρεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλὰ διετέλεσαν πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν νύκτα ζητοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε μὴ δυνηθῆναι
6 τότε τὴν θυσίαν γενέσθαι. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ δύο λύκοι ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀναβάντες ἐκεῖθεν ἐξεδιώχθησαν, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ που καταληφθεὶς ὁ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ἐσφάγη. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ ἐκείνους ἐγένετο.

2 Ἐβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς Κρονίοις τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος φονεῦσαι, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη δέ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκφανέστερον ἤδη τὸ κακὸν ἢ ὥστε συγκρυβῆναι ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ἐκ τούτου πολλαὶ μὲν μάχαι αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ ἐπιβουλευόντων ἀλλήλοις, πολλαὶ
2 δὲ καὶ ἀντιφυλακαὶ συνέβαινον. ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ στρατιῶται καὶ γυμνασταί, καὶ ἔξω καὶ οἴκοι, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ, συχνοὶ τὸν Γέταν ἐφρούρουν, ἔπεισε τὴν μητέρα μόνους σφᾶς ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον, ὡς καὶ συναλλάξουσαν,[2] μεταπέμψασθαι· καὶ οὕτω πιστεύσαντος τοῦ Γέτα ἐσῆλθε
3 μὲν μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἴσω ἐγένοντο, ἑκατόνταρχοί τινες ἐσεπήδησαν ἀθρόοι, παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου προπαρεσκευασμένοι, καὶ αὐτὸν

[1] τυθησόμενον H. Steph., τεθησόμενον VC.

they were diametrically opposed, and anybody could see that something terrible was bound to result from the situation. This was foreseen even before they reached Rome. For when the senate had voted that sacrifices should be offered in behalf of their concord both to the other gods and to Concord herself, and the assistants had got ready the victim to be sacrificed to Concord and the consul had arrived to superintend the sacrifice, neither he could find them nor they him, but they spent nearly the entire night in searching for one another, so that the sacrifice could not be performed then. And on the next day two wolves went up on the Capitol, but were chased away from there; one of them was found and slain somewhere in the Forum and the other was killed later outside the pomerium. This incident also had reference to the brothers. A.D. 211

Antoninus wished to murder his brother at the Saturnalia, but was unable to do so; for his evil purpose had already become too manifest to remain concealed, and so there now ensued many sharp encounters between the two, each of whom felt that the other was plotting against him, and many defensive measures were taken on both sides. Since many soldiers and athletes, therefore, were guarding Geta, both abroad and at home, day and night alike, Antoninus induced his mother to summon them both, unattended, to her apartment, with a view to reconciling them. Thus Geta was persuaded, and went in with him; but when they were inside, some centurions, previously instructed by Antoninus, rushed A.D. 212

[2] *ὡς καὶ συναλλάξουσαν* Kuiper, *ᾧ καὶ συναλλάξουσι* VC, *ἐπὶ καταλλαγῇ* Zon.

πρός τε τὴν μητέρα, ὡς εἶδέ σφας, προκαταφυγόντα καὶ ἀπό τε τοῦ αὐχένος αὐτῆς ἐξαρτηθέντα καὶ τοῖς στήθεσι τοῖς τε μαστοῖς προσφύντα κατέκοψαν ὀλοφυρόμενον καὶ βοῶντα· "μῆτερ μῆτερ, τεκοῦσα τεκοῦσα, βοήθει, σφάζομαι."
4 καὶ ἡ μὲν οὕτως ἀπατηθεῖσα τόν τε υἱὸν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῆς κόλποις ἀνοσιώτατα ἀπολλύμενον ἐπεῖδε, καὶ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ σπλάγχνα τρόπον τινά, ἐξ ὧν ἐγεγέννητο, ἐσεδέξατο· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ αἵματος πᾶσα ἐπλήσθη, ὡς ἐν μηδενὶ λόγῳ τὸ τῆς χειρὸς τραῦμα ὃ ἐτρώθη
5 ποιήσασθαι. οὔτε δὲ πενθῆσαι οὔτε θρηνῆσαι τὸν υἱόν, καίπερ πρόωρον οὕτως οἰκτρῶς ἀπολωλότα, ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῇ (δύο γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἐννέα ἐβίω), ἀλλ' ἠναγκάζετο ὡς καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ τινὶ εὐτυχίᾳ οὖσα χαίρειν καὶ γελᾶν·
6 οὕτω που πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ νεύματα τά τε χρώματα ἐτηρεῖτο· καὶ μόνῃ ἐκείνῃ, τῇ Αὐγούστῃ, τῇ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος γυναικί, τῇ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων μητρί, οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ που ἐπὶ τηλικούτῳ παθήματι δακρῦσαι ἐξῆν.—Xiph. 326, 9—328, 1 R. St.

3 Ὁ δ' Ἀντωνῖνος καίπερ ἑσπέρας οὔσης τὰ στρατόπεδα κατέλαβε, διὰ πάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ κεκραγὼς ὡς ἐπιβεβουλευμένος καὶ κινδυνεύων. ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος "χαίρετε," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη ἔξεστί μοι εὐεργετεῖν ὑμᾶς." καὶ πρὶν πάντα ἀκοῦσαι, ἐνέφραξέ σφων τὰ στόματα τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικαύταις ὑποσχέσεσιν ὥστε μήτ' ἐννοῆσαι μήτε φθέγξασθαί τι
2 αὐτοὺς εὐσεβὲς δυνηθῆναι. "εἷς" γὰρ ἔφησεν "ἐξ ὑμῶν εἰμί, καὶ δι' ὑμᾶς μόνους ζῆν ἐθέλω,

in in a body and struck down Geta, who at sight of them had run to his mother, hung about her neck and clung to her bosom and breasts, lamenting and crying: "Mother that didst bear me, mother that didst bear me, help! I am being murdered." And so she, tricked in this way, saw her son perishing in most impious fashion in her arms, and received him at his death into the very womb, as it were, whence he had been born; for she was all covered with his blood, so that she took no note of the wound she had received on her hand. But she was not permitted to mourn or weep for her son, though he had met so miserable an end before his time (he was only twenty-two years and nine months old), but, on the contrary, she was compelled to rejoice and laugh as though at some great good fortune; so closely were all her words, gestures, and changes of colour observed. Thus she alone, the Augusta, wife of the emperor and mother of the emperors, was not permitted to shed tears even in private over so great a sorrow.

A.D. 212

Antoninus, although it was evening, took possession of the legions, after crying out the whole way, as if he had been the object of a plot and his life were in danger. On entering the camp he exclaimed: "Rejoice, fellow-soldiers, for now I am in a position to do you favours." And before they heard the whole story he had stopped their mouths with so many and so great promises that they could neither think of nor say anything to show proper respect for the dead. "I am one of you," he said, "and it is because of you alone that I care to live,

ἵν' ὑμῖν πολλὰ χαρίζωμαι· ὑμέτεροι γὰρ οἱ θησαυροὶ πάντες εἰσί." καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο[1] εἶπεν ὅτι "μάλιστα μὲν μεθ' ὑμῶν ζῆν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν γε ἀποθανεῖν εὔχομαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως δέδια[2] τὸν θάνατον, καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτῆσαι βούλομαι· ἢ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποθνή-

3 σκειν[3] ἢ μηδαμοῦ." πρὸς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄλλα τέ τινα διελέχθη,[4] καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ βάθρου ἐξαναστῆναι καὶ πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ γενέσθαι "ἀκούσατέ μου" εἶπε "μέγα πρᾶγμα· ἵνα πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη χαρῇ, πάντες οἱ φυγάδες οἱ καὶ ἐφ' ὁτῳοῦν ἐγκλήματι[5] καὶ ὁπωσοῦν καταδεδικασμένοι κατελθέτωσαν." τὰς μὲν οὖν νήσους οὕτω τῶν φυγάδων κενώσας, καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις τῶν καταδεδικασμένων ἄδειαν δεδωκώς, εἶτ' οὐ πολλῷ

4 ὕστερον ἀνεπλήρωσε, τῶν δὲ δὴ Καισαρείων τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Γέτα γενομένων καὶ ἐς δύο μυριάδας παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινεν, ἄνδρας ἁπλῶς καὶ γυναῖκας, ὥς πού τις καὶ ἔτυχεν ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ὤν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ τὸν Παπινιανόν.[6]—Xiph. 328, 1—23 R. St., Exc. Val. 354, 355.

1ª Ὅτι Ἀντωνῖνος Παπιανὸν[7] καὶ Πατρουινόν,[8] τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπί τισι κατηγορησάντων αὐτῶν,[9]

[1] τοῦτο R. Steph., τοῦτο καὶ VC.
[2] δέδια Sylb., δὴ διὰ VC.
[3] ἀποθνήσκειν R. Steph., ἀποθνήσειν VC.
[4] Cf. Petr. Patr.: καὶ πρωῒ εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον εἰσελθὼν παρεκάλει συγγνώμην, οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπέσφαξεν ἀλλ' ὅτι βραγχᾷ καὶ οὐ (ὁ cod.) βούλεται δημηγορῆσαι.—*Exc. Vat.* 136 (p. 228 Mai. = p. 212, 8–14 Dind.)
[5] Petr. Patr. adds: πλὴν εἰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὲν θείου ὑμετέρου δὲ πατρὸς πεφυγαδευμένοι εἶεν.—*Exc. Vat.* 137.

in order that I may confer upon you many favours; for all the treasuries are yours." And he further said: "I pray to live with you, if possible, but if not, at any rate to die with you. For I do not fear death in any form, and it is my desire to end my days in warfare. There should a man die, or nowhere." To the senate on the following day he addressed various remarks,[1] and then, after rising from his seat, he said as he reached the door: "Listen to an important announcement from me: that the whole world may rejoice, let all the exiles who have been condemned, on whatever charge[2] or in whatever manner, be restored." Thus did he empty the islands of exiles and grant pardon to the basest of criminals; but before long he had the islands full again. Of the imperial freedmen and soldiers who had been with Geta he immediately put to death some twenty thousand, men and women alike, wherever in the palace any of them happened to be; and he slew various distinguished men also, including Papinianus. A.D. 212

When the Pretorians accused Papinian and Patruinus of certain things, Antoninus permitted

[1] Cf. Patric.: "And entering the senate early in the morning, he craved their indulgence, not because he had slain his brother, but because he had a sore throat and felt indisposed to address them."

[2] Patricius adds, "except those who have been banished by my uncle, your father."

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[6] Παπινιανὸν R. Steph., παπιανὸν VC (so below).

[7] Παπιανὸν cod. for Παπινιανὸν.

[8] Πατρουινόν Bs., πατρωινον cod.

[9] αὐτῶν Mai, αὐτὸν cod.

ἐπέτρεψεν ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτούς, εἰπὼν κἀκεῖνο ὅτι "ἐγὼ ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ[1] ἄρχω, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πείθομαι ὑμῖν καὶ ὡς κατηγόροις καὶ ὡς δικασταῖς."—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 138 (p. 228 Mai. = p. 212, 22—26 Dind.)

2 Καὶ τῷ γε τὸν Παπινιανὸν φονεύσαντι ἐπετίμησεν ὅτι ἀξίνῃ αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ ξίφει διεχρήσατο.—Xiph. 328, 23–24 R. St.

Τὸν δὲ δὴ Κίλωνα τὸν τροφέα τὸν εὐεργέτην, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπολιαρχηκότα, ὃν καὶ πατέρα πολλάκις ἐκεκλήκει, ἠβουλήθη μὲν 3 ἀποστερῆσαι τοῦ ζῆν· καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν ἀργυρώματα καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια τά τε χρήματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου διήρπασαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀνήγαγον διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὁδοῦ ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον κομιοῦντες, βλαύτας[2] τε ὑποδεδεμένον (ἐν βαλανείῳ γὰρ ὢν ἔτυχε) καὶ χιτωνίσκον ἐνδεδυμένον, ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖ 4 που καταχρησόμενοι. καὶ τήν τε ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ περιέρρηξαν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ᾐκίσαντο, ὥστε καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἀστικοὺς ὑποθορυβῆσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον καὶ αἰδεσθέντα αὐτοὺς καὶ φοβηθέντα ἀπαντῆσαί σφισι, καὶ τῇ χλαμύδι (τὴν γὰρ στρατιωτικὴν ἐσθῆτα εἶχε) περιβαλόντα αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· "μήτε τὸν πατέρα ὑβρίζετε μήτε τὸν τροφέα παίετε." 5 ὁ δὲ δὴ χιλίαρχος ὁ κελευσθεὶς αὐτὸν φονεῦσαι καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ συμπεμφθέντες αὐτῷ ἀνῃρέθησαν, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύσαντες αὐτῷ, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ὅτι μὴ κατέσφαξαν αὐτόν.—Xiph. 328, 24—329, 8 R. St.

5 Ὅτι τὸν Κίλωνα τοσοῦτον δῆθεν[3] ἠγάπα ὁ

them to kill the men, saying: "It is for you, and not for myself, that I rule; therefore, I defer to you both as accusers and judges." A.D. 212

He rebuked the slayer of Papinian for using an axe instead of a sword to kill him.

He also wished to take the life of Cilo, his tutor and benefactor, who had served as prefect of the city under his father, and whom he himself had often called "father." The soldiers who were sent to Cilo first plundered his silver plate, his robes, his money, and everything else of his, and then led him along the Sacred Way with the purpose of taking him to the palace and there putting him out of the way; he had only low slippers on his feet, since he had chanced to be in the bath when arrested, and was wearing a short tunic. The soldiers tore the clothing off his body and disfigured his face, so that the populace as well as the city troops began to make an outcry; accordingly, Antoninus, in awe and fear of them, met the party, and shielding Cilo with his cavalry cloak (he was wearing military dress), cried out: "Insult not my father! Strike not my tutor!" As for the military tribune who had been bidden to slay him and the detail of soldiers sent with him, they were put to death, ostensibly because they had plotted Cilo's destruction, but in reality because they had not killed him.

Antoninus pretended to love Cilo to such a degree

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[1] *ὑμῖν . . . ἐμαυτῷ* Bk., *ὑμῖν . . . ἐμαυτοῦ* cod.
[2] *βλαύτας* Camerarius, *κλάπας* VC.
[3] *δῆθεν* supplied by van Herwerden.

Ἀντωνῖνος ὥστε εἰπεῖν ὅτι "οἱ τούτῳ ἐπιβεβουλευκότες ἐμοὶ ἐπιβεβουλεύκασιν." ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἐπαινούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προσεστηκότων ἔφη· "ἐμὲ μήθ' Ἡρακλέα μήτ' ἄλλον θεόν τινα ἐπικαλεῖτε," οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐβούλετο θεὸς ὀνομάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι 2 οὐδὲν ἄξιον θεοῦ πράττειν ἤθελεν. ἔμπληκτος γὰρ φύσει πρὸς πάντα τὰ πράγματα ὢν καὶ ἐτίμα τινὰς μεγάλως καὶ ἠτίμαζεν ἐξαίφνης τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀλογώτατα, ἔσωζέ τε οὓς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν, καὶ ἐκόλαζεν οὓς οὐκ ἄν τις προσεδόκησεν.—Exc. Val. 356 (p. 742).

3 Ὅτι τὸν Ἄσπρον τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν οὐδ' ἄλλως εὐκαταφρόνητον καὶ διὰ παιδείαν καὶ διὰ φρόνημα ὄντα ἐξάρας ὁμοίως[1] καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς τοσαύταις ῥάβδοις ὁμοῦ ἐμπομπεύσαντα, προεπηλάκισε παραχρῆμα δεινῶς καὶ ἐς τὴν πατρίδα μεθ' ὕβρεως καὶ μετὰ δέους ἰσχυροῦ ἀπέπεμψε.—Exc. Val. 357 (p. 742).

4 Ὅτι καὶ τὸν Λαῖνον ἠτιμάκει ἂν ἢ καὶ ἀπεκτόνει, εἰ μὴ κακῶς ἐνόσει· καὶ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν αὐτοῦ ἀσεβῆ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠνόμασεν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀσεβῆσαι αὐτῷ ἐπέτρεψεν.—Exc. Val. 358 (p. 742).

5 Ὅτι καὶ Θρασέαν[2] Πρίσκον, ἄνδρα οὐδενὸς οὔτε γένει οὔτε φρονήσει δεύτερον, κατεχρήσατο.—Exc. Val. 359 (p. 742).

[1] ὁμοίως Val., ὁμοίους cod. Peir.
[2] Θρασέαν Val., θρασέα cod. Peir.

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[1] C. Julius Asper was consul in the year 212; Boissevain argues that the full name may have been C. Julius Julianus Asper.

that he declared, "Those who have plotted against him have plotted against me," and when commended for this by the bystanders, he continued: "Call me neither Hercules nor any other god"—not that he did not wish to be termed a god, but because he did not want to do anything worthy of a god. He was naturally capricious in all things; for instance, he would bestow great honours upon people and then suddenly disgrace them quite without cause, and again he would spare the lives of those who least deserved it and punish those whom one would never have looked to see punished. A.D. 212

Julianus Asper,[1] a man by no means to be despised either on account of his education or of his intelligence, was first exalted, together with his sons, by Antoninus, so that he paraded about surrounded by ever so many fasces at once,[2] and then was suddenly insulted by him outrageously and sent back to his native town[3] with abuse and in terrible fear.

Laenus[4] was another whom he would have disgraced or even killed, had not the man been extremely ill. Antoninus before the soldiers called his illness wicked, because it did not permit him to display his own wickedness in the case of Laenus also.

He also made away with Thrasea Priscus, a man second to none either in birth or intelligence.

[2] He was probably consul and prefect of the city at the same time and employed the lictors belonging to both offices; but the text is probably corrupt.

[3] Tusculum.

[4] Valesius regarded this as an error for Laetus (cf. *Vit. Caracall.* 3, 4). Boissevain suggests that Laelius may be the true reading.

"Ὅτι καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς καὶ φίλους τὸ πρότερον ὄντας ἀπέκτεινεν.—Exc. Val. 360 (p. 742).

6 πάντας δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ[1] μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω,

ὅσους τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οὐδεμιᾷ δίκῃ ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δίων, ἅτε γνωριμωτάτων κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς τῶν πεφονευμένων ὄντων, καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτῶν ποιεῖται κατάλογον· ἐμοὶ δ' εἰπεῖν ἐξαρκεῖ ὅτι πάντας ὁμοίως οὓς ἤθελε κατεχειρίζετο,

ὅστ' αἴτιος ὅστε καὶ οὐκί,

καὶ ὅτι τὴν Ῥώμην ἠκρωτηρίασεν, ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν στερήσας αὐτήν.—Xiph. 329, 8–14 R. St.

1ª "Ὅτι τρισὶν ἔθνεσιν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος προσήκων ἦν, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν αὐτῶν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν τὰ δὲ δὴ κακὰ πάντα συλλαβὼν ἐκτήσατο, τῆς μὲν Γαλατίας τὸ κοῦφον καὶ τὸ δειλὸν καὶ τὸ θρασύ, τῆς Ἀφρικῆς τὸ τραχὺ καὶ ἄγριον, τῆς Συρίας, ὅθεν πρὸς μητρὸς ἦν, τὸ πανοῦργον.—Exc. Val. 361 (p. 742).

2 Ἐκ δὲ τῶν φόνων ἐς τὰς παιδιὰς ἀποκλίνων οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ ἐν ταύταις ἐφόνα. ἐλέφαντα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ῥινοκέρωτα καὶ τίγριν καὶ ἱππότιγριν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θείη ἄν τις φονευομένους ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· ὁ δὲ καὶ μονομάχων ἀνδρῶν ὅτι πλείστων[2] ἔχαιρεν αἵμασι, καὶ ἕνα γε αὐτῶν Βάτωνα τρισὶν ἐφεξῆς ἀνδράσιν ὁπλομαχῆσαι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναγκάσας, ἔπειτα ἀποθανόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου περιφανεῖ ταφῇ ἐτίμησε.—Xiph. 329, 14–20 R. St.

There were many others, too, formerly friends of his, that he put to death. A.D. 212

"All could I never recite nor the names number over completely"[1]

of the distinguished men that he killed without any justification. Dio, because the slain were very well known in those days, gives a list of their names; but for me it suffices to say that he made away with all the men he wished without distinction,

"both guilty and guiltless alike,"[2]

and that he mutilated Rome, by depriving it of its good men.

Antoninus belonged to three races; and he possessed none of their virtues at all, but combined in himself all their vices; the fickleness, cowardice, and recklessness of Gaul were his, the harshness and cruelty of Africa, and the craftiness of Syria, whence he was sprung on his mother's side.

Veering from murder to sport, he showed the same thirst for blood in this field, too. It was nothing, of course, that an elephant, rhinoceros, tiger, and hippotigris were slain in the arena, but he took pleasure in seeing the blood of as many gladiators as possible; he forced one of them, Bato, to fight three men in succession on the same day, and then, when Bato was slain by the last one, he honoured him with a brilliant funeral.

[1] Hom., *Il.* ii. 488, slightly changed.
[2] Hom., *Il.* xv. 137.

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[1] ἐγώ H. Steph., ἐγώγε VC.
[2] πλείστων Bk., πλεῖστον VC.

7 Περὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὕτω τι ἐπτόητο ὥστε καὶ ὅπλοις τισὶ καὶ ποτηρίοις ὡς καὶ ἐκείνου γεγονόσι χρῆσθαι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ πολλὰς καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ στῆσαι, φάλαγγά τέ τινα ἐκ μόνων τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐς μυρίους καὶ ἑξακισχιλίους συντάξαι, καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τε ἐπονομάσαι καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις οἷς ποτὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνου 2 ἐκέχρηντο ὁπλίσαι· ταῦτα δ' ἦν κράνος ὠμοβόειον, θώραξ λινοῦς τρίμιτος,[1] ἀσπὶς χαλκῆ, δόρυ μακρόν, αἰχμὴ βραχεῖα, κρηπῖδες, ξίφος. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτῷ ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἑῷον Αὔγουστον ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καί ποτε καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἔγραψεν, ὅτι ἐς τὸ σῶμα αὖθις τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐσῆλθεν, ἵνα, ἐπειδὴ ὀλίγον τότε χρόνον ἐβίω, πλείονα αὖθις δι' 3 ἐκείνου ζήσῃ. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους τοὺς Ἀριστοτελείους ὠνομασμένους τά τε ἄλλα δεινῶς ἐμίσει, ὥστε καὶ τὰ βιβλία αὐτῶν κατακαῦσαι ἐθελῆσαι, καὶ τὰ συσσίτια ἃ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ εἶχον, τάς τε λοιπὰς ὠφελείας ὅσας ἐκαρποῦντο, ἀφείλετο, ἐγκαλέσας σφίσιν ὅτι συναίτιος τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ θανάτου Ἀριστοτέλης γεγονέναι 4 ἔδοξε. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ἐλέφαντας πολλοὺς συμπεριήγετο, ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον, μιμεῖσθαι δόξῃ.

8 Οὕτω δ' οὖν διὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐφίλει, ὥστε ποτὲ χιλίαρχον Μακεδόνα ἐπαινέσας ὅτι κούφως ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνεπήδησεν, ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον "πόθεν

[1] τρίμιτος H. Steph., τρίμητος VC.

He was so enthusiastic about Alexander that he A.D. 212 used certain weapons and cups which he believed had once been his, and he also set up many likenesses of him both in the camps and in Rome itself. He organized a phalanx, composed entirely of Macedonians, sixteen thousand strong, named it "Alexander's phalanx," and equipped it with the arms that warriors had used in his day; these consisted of a helmet of raw ox-hide, a three-ply linen breastplate, a bronze shield, long pike, short spear, high boots, and sword. Not even this, however, satisfied him, but he must call his hero "the Augustus of the East"; and once he actually wrote to the senate that Alexander had come to life again in the person of the Augustus,[1] that he might live on once more in him, having had such a short life before. Toward the philosophers who were called Aristotelians he showed bitter hatred in every way, even going so far as to desire to burn their books, and in particular he abolished their common messes in Alexandria and all the other privileges that they had enjoyed; his grievance against them was that Aristotle was supposed to have been concerned in the death of Alexander.[2] Such was his behaviour in these matters; nay more, he even took about with him numerous elephants, that in this respect, also, he might seem to be imitating Alexander, or rather, perhaps, Dionysus.

On Alexander's account, then, he was very fond of the Macedonians. Once, after commending a Macedonian tribune for the agility with which he had leaped upon his horse, he asked him first: "From

[1] *i.e.* Antoninus himself.

[2] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* vii. 27, 1; Plutarch, *Alex.* 77.

εἶ;" ἔπειτα μαθὼν ὅτι Μακεδὼν εἴη, ἐπανήρετο
2 "τίς δὲ ὀνομάζῃ;" καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὅτι
Ἀντίγονος, προσεπανήρετο "τίς δέ σου ὁ πατὴρ
ἐκαλεῖτο;" ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτος Φίλιππος ὢν εὑρέθη,
"πάντ' ἔχω," φησίν, "ὅσα ἤθελον," καὶ εὐθύς
τε αὐτὸν ταῖς λοιπαῖς στρατείαις ἐσέμνυνε, καὶ
μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐς τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἐστρατη-
3 γηκότας κατέταξεν. ἕτερον δέ τινα τῇ μὲν
Μακεδονίᾳ μηδὲν προσήκοντα, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
δεινὰ δεδρακότα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐξ
ἐκκλήτου[1] δίκης κρινόμενον, ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρός
τε ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ ὁ κατηγορῶν αὐτοῦ ῥήτωρ
συνεχῶς ἔλεγεν "ὁ μιαιφόνος Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ
θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς Ἀλέξανδρος," ὠργίσθη τε ὡς καὶ
αὐτὸς κακῶς ἀκούων, καὶ ἔφη "εἰ μὴ ἀρκέσει
σοι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀπολέλυσαι."—Xiph. 329,
20—330, 20 R. St., Exc. Val. 362, 363, 364
(p. 743 sq.).

9 Οὗτος[2] οὖν ὁ φιλαλεξανδρότατος Ἀντωνῖνος
ἐς μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας, οὓς πάνυ πολλοὺς ἀμφ'
αὐτὸν εἶχε, προφάσεις ἐκ προφάσεων καὶ πολέ-
μους ἐκ πολέμων σκηπτόμενος, φιλαναλωτὴς ἦν,
τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔργον εἶχε
περιδύειν ἀποσυλᾶν ἐκτρύχειν, οὐχ ἥκιστα τοὺς
2 συγκλητικούς. χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν
χρυσῶν οὓς ὡς καὶ πολεμίους τινὰς ἀεὶ νικῶν πολ-
λάκις ᾔτει (λέγω δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ τῶν στε-
φάνων ποίημα· πόσον γὰρ τοῦτό γέ ἐστιν; ἀλλὰ
τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλῆθος τῶν ἐπ' ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ

[1] ἐκκλήτου Leuncl., ἐγκλήτου VC.

[2] The text of the first sentence of this section is that of Bekker, obtained by combining Exc. Val. 365 and the

what country are you?" Then, learning that he was a Macedonian, he asked again: "What is your name?" And hearing that it was Antigonus, he further inquired: "And what was your father's name?" When the father's name was found to be Philip, he declared: "I have all my desire," and promptly advanced him through all the other grades of the military career, and before long appointed him a senator with the rank of an ex-praetor. Again, there is the incident of a certain man who had no connexion with Macedonia but had committed many crimes and for this reason was being tried by the emperor on an appeal. His name chanced to be Alexander, and when the orator who was accusing him kept saying, "the bloodthirsty Alexander, the god-detested Alexander," Antoninus became angry, as if he himself were being called these bad names, and said: "If you cannot be satisfied with plain 'Alexander,' you may consider yourself dismissed." A.D. 212

Now this great admirer of Alexander, Antoninus, was fond of spending money upon the soldiers, great numbers of whom he kept in attendance upon him, alleging one excuse after another and one war after another; but he made it his business to strip, despoil, and grind down all the rest of mankind, and the senators by no means least. In the first place, there were the gold crowns that he was repeatedly demanding, on the constant pretext that he had conquered some enemy or other; and I am not referring, either, to the actual manufacture of the crowns—for what does that amount to?—but to the vast amount of money constantly being given

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beginning of 366 with Xiph. 330, 21–24. For details see Boissevain's edition.

διδομένων, οἷς[1] στεφανοῦν αἱ πόλεις τοὺς αὐτο-
3 κράτορας εἰώθασιν), τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων ἃ πολλὰ καὶ πανταχόθεν τὰ μὲν προῖκα τὰ δὲ καὶ προσαναλίσκοντες ἐσεπρασσόμεθα, ἃ[2] πάντα ἐκεῖνος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐχαρίζετο ἢ καὶ ἐκαπήλευεν, καὶ τῶν δώρων ἃ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τῶν πλουσίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν δήμων προσῄτει,
4 τῶν τε τελῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἃ καινὰ προσκατέδειξεν, καὶ τοῦ τῆς δεκάτης ἣν ἀντὶ τῆς εἰκοστῆς ὑπέρ τε τῶν ἀπελευθερουμένων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν καταλειπομένων τισὶ κλήρων καὶ δωρεᾶς ἐποίησε πάσης,[3] τάς τε διαδοχὰς καὶ τὰς
5 ἀτελείας τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις τὰς δεδομένας τοῖς πάνυ προσήκουσι τῶν τελευτώντων καταλύσας (οὗ ἕνεκα καὶ Ῥωμαίους πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ, λόγῳ μὲν τιμῶν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως πλείω αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου προσίῃ[4] διὰ τὸ τοὺς ξένους τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν μὴ συντελεῖν, ἀπέδειξεν)
6 —ἔξω δὴ τούτων ἁπάντων καὶ οἰκίας αὐτῷ παντοδαπάς, ἐπειδὴ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξώρμησε, καὶ καταλύσεις πολυτελεῖς ἐν μέσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ταῖς βραχυτάταις οἰκείοις δαπανήμασι κατασκευάζειν ἠναγκαζόμεθα, ἐν αἷς οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἐνῴκησέ ποτε,
7 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὄψεσθαι αὐτῶν τινὰ ἔμελλε. προσέτι καὶ θέατρα κυνηγετικὰ καὶ ἱπποδρόμους πανταχοῦ, ὅπουπερ καὶ ἐχείμασεν ἢ καὶ χειμάσειν ἤλπισε, κατεσκευάσαμεν, μηδὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντες. καὶ αὐτίκα πάντα κατεσκάφη· οὕτω

[1] οἷς supplied by Val.
[2] ἃ supplied by Val.
[3] δωρεᾶς ἐποίησε πάσης Salmasius, δωρεὰς ἐποίησε πάσας cod. Peir.

under that name by the cities for the customary "crowning," as it is called, of the emperors. Then there were the provisions that we were required to furnish in great quantities on all occasions, and this without receiving any remuneration and sometimes actually at additional cost to ourselves—all of which supplies he either bestowed upon the soldiers or else peddled out; and there were the gifts which he demanded from the wealthy citizens and from the various communities; and the taxes, both the new ones which he promulgated and the ten per cent. tax that he instituted in place of the five per cent. tax applying to the emancipation of slaves, to bequests, and to all legacies; for he abolished the right of succession and exemption from taxes which had been granted in such cases to those who were closely related to the deceased. This was the reason why he made all the people in his empire Roman citizens; nominally he was honouring them, but his real purpose was to increase his revenues by this means, inasmuch as aliens did not have to pay most of these taxes. But apart from all these burdens, we were also compelled to build at our own expense all sorts of houses for him whenever he set out from Rome, and costly lodgings in the middle of even the very shortest journeys; yet he not only never lived in them, but in some cases was not destined even to see them. Moreover, we constructed amphitheatres and race-courses wherever he spent the winter or expected to spend it, all without receiving any contribution from him; and they were all promptly demolished, the sole reason

A.D. 212

[4] προσίῃ Rk., προσῆι cod. Peir.

πως διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἐγένετο, ἵν' ἡμεῖς ἐπιτριβῶμεν.—Exc. Val. 365, 366 (p. 745), Xiph. 330, 2–32 R. St.

10 Αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ χρήματα ἔς τε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς ἔφαμεν, καὶ ἐς θηρία ἵππους τε ἐδαπάνα· πάμπολλα γάρ τοι καὶ θηρία καὶ βοτά, τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἀνάγκῃ λαμβάνων, ἤδη δέ τινα καὶ ὠνούμενος, ἀπεκτίννυε, καί ποτε ἑκατὸν ὗς ἅμα αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἔσφαξεν. ἡρματηλάτει τε[1] τῇ οὐενετίῳ[2] στολῇ χρώμενος. ἦν γὰρ ἐς πάντα καὶ θερμότατος καὶ κουφότατος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἶχε καὶ τὸ πανοῦργον τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῶν Σύρων, ὅθεν ἐκείνη ἦν. ἀγωνοθέτην δὲ ἢ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων τινὰ ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πλουσίων ἐκάθιζεν, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλίσκηται· προσεκύνει τε αὐτοὺς κάτωθεν τῇ μάστιγι, καὶ χρυσοῦς ὥσπερ τις τῶν ταπεινοτάτων ᾔτει. καὶ ἔλεγε κατὰ τὸν Ἥλιον τῇ ἁρματηλασίᾳ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ἐπ' αὐτῇ. οὕτω δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνον πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ἡ ὑπακούουσα αὐτῷ ἐπορθήθη ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποτὲ ἐν ἱπποδρομίᾳ ἄλλα τε συμβοῆσαι καὶ ὅτι "τοὺς ζῶντας ἀπολοῦμεν,[3] ἵνα τοὺς τεθνεῶτας θάψωμεν." καὶ γὰρ ἔλεγε πολλάκις ὅτι "οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων πλὴν ἐμοῦ ἀργύριον ἔχειν δεῖ, ἵνα αὐτὸ τοῖς στρατιώταις χαρίζωμαι." καί ποτε τῆς Ἰουλίας ἐπιτιμησάσης αὐτῷ ὅτι πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀνήλισκε, καὶ εἰπούσης

(margin: 2 at "λάτει"; 3 at "τάτων"; 4 at "ἵνα τοὺς")

[1] τε R. Steph., τὰ ἐν VC.
[2] οὐενετίῳ R. Steph., βενετίω VC.
[3] ἀπολοῦμεν VC, καλοῦμεν (?) exc. Vat., ἀπεμπολοῦμεν Planudes, ἀποδύομεν Bk.

for their being built in the first place being, A.D. 212 apparently, that we might become impoverished.

The emperor himself kept spending the money upon the soldiers, as we have said, and upon wild beasts and horses; for he was for ever killing vast numbers of animals, both wild and domesticated, forcing us to furnish most of them, though he did buy a few. One day he slew a hundred boars at one time with his own hands. He also used to drive chariots, wearing the Blue costume. In everything he was very hot-headed and very fickle, and he furthermore possessed the craftiness of his mother and the Syrians, to which race she belonged. He would appoint some freedman or other wealthy person to be director of the games in order that the man might spend money in this way also; and he would salute the spectators with his whip from the arena below and beg for gold pieces like a performer of the lowest class. He claimed that he used the Sun-god's method in driving, and plumed himself upon it. To such an extent was the entire world, so far as it owned his sway, devastated throughout his whole reign, that on one occasion the Romans at a horse-race shouted in unison this, among other things: "We shall do the living to death,[1] that we may bury the dead." Indeed, he often used to say: "Nobody in the world should have money but me; and I want it to bestow upon the soldiers." Once when Julia chided him for spending vast sums upon

[1] Or, if we adopt Bekker's ἀποδύομεν, "We are stripping the living."

ὅτι "οὐκέθ' ἡμῖν οὔτε δίκαιος οὔτ' ἄδικος πόρος ὑπολείπεται," ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸ ξίφος δείξας, ὅτι "θάρσει, μῆτερ· ἕως γὰρ ἂν τοῦτ' ἔχωμεν,[1] οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ἐπιλείψει χρήματα."

11 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῖς κολακεύουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ κτήματα καὶ χρήματα ἀπένεμεν.—Xiph. 330, 32–331, 21 R. St.

1ᵃ Ὅτι ὁ Ἰούλιος Παῦλος ὑπατικὸς ἀνὴρ ψιθυρὸς καὶ σκωπτικὸς καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῶν τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἀπεχόμενος, ὃν καὶ ὁ Σευῆρος φυλακῇ ἀδέσμῳ παραδέδωκεν. ὡς δὲ ἐν φρουραῖς ὢν ἀπέσκωπτεν εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, μεταπεμψάμενος ὁ Σευῆρος ὤμνυ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκτεμεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· "ἐκτεμεῖν αὐτὴν δύνασαι,[2] ἐφ' ὅσον δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχω, οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἐγὼ κατασχεῖν αὐτὴν δύναμαι," ὥστε γελάσαντα τὸν Σευῆρον ἀπολῦσαι αὐτόν.—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 142 (p. 229 Mai. = p. 213, 11–19 Dind.).

1² Ἰουνίῳ γοῦν Παυλίνῳ[3] πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἐχαρίσατο, ὅτι καὶ ἄκων διασιλλῶσαί[4] τι αὐτὸν σκωπτόλης ὢν προήχθη· ἔφη γὰρ αὐτὸν ὀργιζομένῳ τινὶ[5] ἐοικέναι, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ θυμοειδέστερόν πως ἑαυτὸν ἐσχημάτιζεν.[6] οὐδὲν γὰρ

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[1] ἔχωμεν H. Steph., ἔχομεν VC.
[2] δύνασαι Bk., δύνασθαι cod.
[3] Παυλίνῳ (Παυλλίνῳ) H. Steph., παλλίνω VC.
[4] διασιλλῶσαί Reim., διασιλῶσαί VC.
[5] τινί VC, Πανί Meineke.
[6] Cf. Petr Patr.: ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀντωνῖνος μεταπεμψάμενος ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ γράψαι στίχους εἰς αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ τεχνικῶς ἔσκωψεν· εἶπεν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐοικέναι θυμουμένῳ· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς σκώπτων εἶπεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ σφόδρα ἐθεράπευσεν· ἤθελε γὰρ δεινὸς καὶ ἄγριος καὶ ἀπότομος ἀεὶ φαίνεσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ εἴκοσι μυριάδας. . . .—*Exc. Vat.* 143.

them and said, "There is no longer any source of revenue, either just or unjust, left to us," he replied, exhibiting his sword, "Be of good cheer, mother: for as long as we have this, we shall not run short of money." A.D. 212

Moreover to those who flattered him he distributed both money and goods.

Julius Paulus,[1] a man of consular rank, was a gossip and jester, sparing not even the emperors themselves, and Severus caused him to be placed in free custody. When he still continued, even under guard, to jest at the expense of the sovereigns, Severus sent for him and swore that he would cut off his head. But Paulus replied: "Yes, you can cut it off, but as long as I have it, neither you nor I can restrain it." So Severus laughed and let him off.

He bestowed on Junius Paulinus a million sesterces because the man, who was a jester, had been led to crack a joke at the emperor's expense without meaning to do so.[2] For Paulinus had said that Antoninus looked as if he were angry, the fact being that the emperor was wont to assume a somewhat savage expression.[3] Indeed, he had no regard whatever

[1] Probably an error for Junius Paulinus, the form given by Xiphilinus just below.

[2] Cf. Patric.: "Antoninus, sending for this same man, permitted him to write some verses against himself. Now this man was an artist in jesting, for he said that Antoninus looked all the time as if he were in a rage; he said this as a jest, but he thereby flattered the emperor greatly, since he always wished to appear terrible, fierce, and abrupt. And Antoninus accordingly [gave] him [five and] twenty myriads" [of denarii] (=one million sesterces).

[3] The point seems to be that Paulinus had said in jest, "You seem to be angry," really thinking that his angry expression was his usual pose, when in fact Antoninus was angry.

τῶν καλῶν ἐλογίζετο· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔμαθέ τι αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὡμολόγει, διόπερ καὶ ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἡμᾶς τούς τι παιδείας ἐχόμενον εἰδότας ἐποιεῖτο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Σεουῆρος καὶ πάνυ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐς ἀρετὴν τείνουσι καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν 3 ψυχὴν ἤσκησεν αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοκράτορα ἤδη ὄντα καὶ διδασκάλοις συνεῖναι καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας φιλοσοφεῖν· ἐξηραλοίφει τε, καὶ ἵππευε καὶ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους, καὶ προσέτι καὶ νήχεσθαι καὶ ἐν κλύδωνι ἤσκητο.[1] ὁ δὲ ἐκ μὲν τούτων τρόπον τινὰ ἐρρώσθη, τῆς δὲ δὴ παιδεύσεως ὡς οὐδὲ τοὔνομα αὐτῆς 4 πώποτε ἀκηκοὼς ἐπελάθετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακορρήμων ἢ κακογνώμων ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνίει τὰ πολλὰ ὀξύτατα καὶ ἔφραζεν ἑτοιμότατα· τῇ τε γὰρ ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ τῇ προπετείᾳ, τῷ πάνθ' ὁμοίως τὰ ἐπελθόντα[2] οἱ ἀπερισκέπτως ἐκλαλεῖν καὶ τῷ μηδὲν αὐτῶν ἐκφαίνειν αἰσχύνεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτυχίᾳ τινὶ πολλάκις περιέπιπτε.—Xiph. 331, 21—332, 5, Exc. Val. 367 (p. 745), Suid. *s.v.* Ἀντωνῖνος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων.

5 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς αὐτογνωμονῶν[3] πολλὰ ἐσφάλη· πάντα τε γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι εἰδέναι ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος εἰδέναι ἤθελε, καὶ πάντα οὐχ ὅτι δύνασθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνος δύνασθαι ἠβούλετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε τινὶ συμβούλῳ ἐχρῆτο καὶ τοῖς χρηστόν τι εἰδόσιν ἐφθόνει. ἐφίλησε μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα πώποτε, ἐμίσησε δὲ πάντας τοὺς προφέροντας

[1] ἤσκητο VC, ἠσκεῖτο cod. Peir. Suid.
[2] ἐπελθόντα VC, προσιστάμενα cod. Peir., προϊστάμενα Suid.

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for the higher things, and never even learned anything of that nature, as he himself admitted; and hence he actually held in contempt those of us who possessed anything like education. Severus, to be sure, had trained him in absolutely all the pursuits that tended to excellence, whether of body or of mind, so that even after he became emperor he went to teachers and studied philosophy most of the day. He used to be rubbed dry with oil, and would ride on horseback as much as a hundred miles; and he had practised swimming even in rough water. In consequence of these pursuits he was vigorous enough in a fashion, but he forgot his intellectual training as completely as if he had never heard of such a thing. And yet he was not lacking either in ability to express himself or in good judgment, but showed a very shrewd understanding of most matters and talked very readily. For, thanks to his authority and his impetuosity, as well as to his habit of blurting out recklessly everything alike that came into his head and of feeling no shame at all about airing all his thoughts, he often stumbled upon a happy phrase.

But this same emperor made many mistakes because of the obstinacy with which he clung to his own opinions; for he wished not only to know everything but to be the only one to know anything, and he desired not only to have all power but to be the only one to have power. Hence he asked no one's advice and was jealous of those who had any useful knowledge. He never loved anyone, but he hated all who excelled in anything, most of all

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[3] αὐτογνωμονῶν Val., αὐτογνωμῶν cod. Peir.

ἔν τινι, μάλιστα δὲ οὓς μάλιστα ἀγαπᾶν προσε-
6 ποιεῖτο· καὶ αὐτῶν συχνοὺς καὶ διέφθειρεν τρόπον τινά. ἐφόνευε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πολλούς· ἤδη δὲ καὶ πέμπων τινὰς ἐς
7 ἔθνη μὴ ἐπιτήδεια σφίσιν, ἀλλ' ἐναντίαν[1] τῇ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν καταστάσει τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος ἀκρασίαν ἔχοντα, οὕτως αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ πάνυ τιμῶν ὑπεξῄρει, τοὺς μὲν καύμασι τοὺς δὲ ψύχεσιν ἀκράτοις, οἷς οὐκ ἔχαιρεν, ἐκδιδούς. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ ἐφείδετό τινων μὴ ἀποκτεῖναί σφας, ἀλλ' ἐπίεζέ γε αὐτοὺς ὥστε καὶ † κηλιδοῦσθαι.†[2] —Exc. Val. 368 (p. 746).

12 Τὸ μὲν οὖν σύμπαν τοιοῦτος ἦν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ὁποῖος, ἐροῦμεν.—Xiph. 332, 5, 6 R. St.

1a Ὅτι Ἄγβαρος[3] ὁ τῶν Ὀσροηνῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ ἐν κράτει[4] τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐγένετο, οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν δεινοτάτων τοὺς προέχοντας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐξειργάσατο. λόγῳ μὲν ἐς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἤθη μεθίστασθαι ἠνάγκαζεν, ἔργῳ δὲ τῆς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξουσίας ἀπλήστως ἐνεφορεῖτο.—Exc. Val. 369 (p. 746).

1[2] Ἠπατηκὼς γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ὀσροηνῶν Αὔγαρον ὡς δὴ παρὰ φίλον αὐτὸν ἥκειν, ἔπειτα συλλαβὼν ἔδησε, καὶ τὴν Ὀσροηνὴν οὕτως ἀβασίλευτον οὖσαν λοιπὸν ἐχειρώσατο.

Τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα διαφερόμενον μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων παίδων ἐκάλεσε μὲν φιλικοῖς γράμμασιν ὡς δὴ εἰρηνεύσων αὐτούς, ἔδρασε δὲ καὶ περὶ[5] τούτους ἃ καὶ περὶ τὸν Αὔγαρον.

[1] ἐναντίαν Reim., ἐνανταί cod. Peir.
[2] κηλιδοῦσθαι corrupt? ἐκκενοῦσθαι Rk., κολοβοῦσθαι St.
[3] For this spelling see note on 68. 21, 1.

those whom he pretended to love most; and he destroyed many of them in one way or another. Many he murdered openly; but others he would send to uncongenial provinces whose climate was injurious to their state of health and thus, while pretending to honour them greatly, he quietly got rid of them by exposing those whom he did not like to excessive heat or cold. Hence, even if there were some whom he refrained from putting to death, yet he subjected them to such hardships that his hands were in fact stained with their blood.[1] A.D. 212

Such was his character in general; I will now state what sort of person he was in war.

Abgarus, king of the Osroëni, when he had once got control of the kindred tribes, visited upon their leaders all the worst forms of cruelty. Nominally he was compelling them to change to Roman customs, but in fact he was indulging his authority over them to the full. A.D. 213(?)

[Antoninus] tricked the king of the Osroëni, Abgarus, inducing him to visit him as a friend, and then arresting and imprisoning him; and so, Osroëne being thus left without a king, he subdued it.

When the king of the Armenians was quarrelling with his own sons, Antoninus summoned him in a friendly letter, pretending that he would make peace between them; but he treated them as he had treated Abgarus. The Armenians, however,

[1] This seems to be about the meaning, if the text is not corrupt, as most editors assume it to be; but possibly Dio used a word referring to the victims, such as "perished."

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[4] ἐν κράτει Bs., ἐγκράτει cod. Peir.
[5] περί H. Steph., παρά VC.

2 οὐ μὴν καὶ οἱ Ἀρμένιοι προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἐς ὅπλα ἐχώρησαν, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ[1] τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἐπίστευσεν, ὥστε καὶ ἔργῳ αὐτὸν ἐκμαθεῖν ὅσον αὐτοκράτορι ζημίωμά ἐστι τό τι ἀπατηλὸν πρὸς φίλους πρᾶξαι.—Xiph. 332, 7—16 R. St.

2a Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς μέγιστον ἐμεγαλοφρόνει ὅτι τοῦ Οὐολογαίσου[2] τοῦ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέως τελευτήσαντος οἱ παῖδες περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐμάχοντο, ὡς ἐξ ἰδίας παρασκευῆς τὸ κατὰ τύχην συμβὰν γεγονὸς προσποιούμενος. οὕτω που σφόδρα ἀεὶ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ διχοστασίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀλληλοφονίᾳ ἔχαιρεν.—Exc. Val. 370 (p. 746).

3 Οὐκ ὤκνησε δὲ γράψαι πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Πάρθοις βασιλευόντων, ἀδελφῶν τε ὄντων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιαζόντων, ὅτι ἡ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαφορὰ μέγα τι κακὸν τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Πάρθων ἐργάσεται,[3] ὥσπερ που τῶν βαρβαρικῶν πραγμάτων φθαρῆναι διὰ τοῦτο δυναμένων, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαϊκῶν σεσωσμένων ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄρδην 4 τρόπον τινὰ ἀνατετραμμένων, οὐ κατ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον ὅτι ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακῷ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σφαγῆς ὑποφόνια τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδεδώκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ πάμπολλοι ἐσυκοφαντήθησαν, οὐχ ὅπως οἱ ἐπιστείλαντές τι ἢ δωροφορήσαντες[4] αὐτῷ ἢ Καίσαρι ἔτι ὄντι ἢ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι γενομένῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἷς μηδεπώποτε πρᾶγμα 5 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνει. καὶ εἴ γέ τις ἔγραψε τὸ

[1] αὐτῷ Reim., αὐτῶν VC.
[2] Οὐολογαίσου Bk., βολογαίσου cod. Peir.

instead of yielding to him, had recourse to arms, and no one thereafter would trust him in anything whatever. Thus he learned by experience how great the penalty is for an emperor when he practises deceit upon friends. A.D. 213(?)

He likewise took the greatest credit to himself because, after the death of Vologaesus, king of the Parthians, the king's sons began to fight for the throne, thus pretending that a situation which was due to chance had been brought about through his own contriving. So keen, it seems, was the delight he always took in the fact and in the dissensions of the brothers and in the mutual slaughter of persons in no way connected with himself.

But he did not hesitate to write to the senate regarding the Parthian rulers, who were brothers and at variance, that the brothers' quarrel would work great harm to the Parthian State. As if this sort of thing could destroy the barbarians and yet had saved Rome,—whereas in fact Rome had been, one might say, utterly overthrown thereby! It was not that, to seal a crime that brought a great curse upon mankind, those great sums of blood-money had been given to the soldiers for his brother's murder, but that vast numbers of citizens had been falsely accused, not merely those who had sent letters to his brother or had brought him gifts, either when he was still Caesar or when he had become emperor, but even the others who had never had any dealings with him. Indeed, if any-

[3] ἐργάσεται Bk., ἐργάσηται VC.
[4] δωροφορήσαντες Reim., δορυφορήσαντες VC.

ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Γέτα μόνον ᾗ εἶπε μόνον, εὐθὺς ἀπώλετο.[1] ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς κωμῳδίαις οἱ ποιηταὶ ἔτι αὐτῷ ἐχρῶντο· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι πάντων ὧν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα γεγραμμένον εὑρέθη ἐδημοσιώθησαν.—Xiph. 332, 16—30 R. St.

6 Ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ἀργυρολογίας ἕνεκα ἐποίει.

Ὅτι καὶ μῖσος πρὸς τὸν τετελευτηκότα ἀδελφὸν ἐπεδείκνυτο καταλύσας τὴν τῶν γενεσίων αὐτοῦ τιμήν, καὶ τοῖς τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ βαστάσασι λίθοις ὠργίζετο, καὶ τὸ νόμισμα τὸ προφέρον αὐτὸν συνεχώνευσεν. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε μάλιστα ἀνοσιουργεῖν ἐπετήδευσε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μιαιφονεῖν ἠνάγκαζεν, ὥσπερ τινὰ ἐναγισμὸν ἐτήσιον τῷ ἀδελφῷ ποιούμενος.—Exc. Val. 371 (p. 746).

13, 3 Ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου φόνῳ φρονῶν καὶ πράττων χαίρειν[2] τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀδελφῶν διχοστασίᾳ ὡς καὶ μέγα τι κακὸν ἐκ τούτου τῶν Πάρθων πεισομένων.

Οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὰ Κελτικὰ ἔθνη οὔθ' ἡδονὴν οὔτε σοφίας ἢ ἀνδρείας προσποίησίν τινα ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ καὶ ἀπατεῶνα καὶ εὐήθη καὶ δειλότατον αὐτὸν ἐξήλεγξεν ὄντα.—Exc. Val. 372 (p. 749).

4 Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἐς τοὺς Ἀλαμαννοὺς[3] στρατεύσας διέταττεν, εἴ πού τι χωρίον ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς ἐνοίκησιν εἶδεν, "ἐνταῦθα φρούριον τειχισθήτω, ἐνταῦθα πόλις οἰκοδομηθήτω." καὶ

[1] ἀπώλετο H. Steph., ἀπώλυτο VC.
[2] χαίρειν], ἔχαιρε Bk., χαίρειν ἔφη Bs.

one so much as wrote the name Geta or even uttered it, he was immediately put to death. Hence the poets no longer used it even in comedies;[1] and in fact the possessions of all those in whose wills the name appeared were confiscated. A.D. 213(?)

Much that he did was done for the purpose of raising money.

He exhibited his hatred for his dead brother by abolishing the observance of his birthday, and he vented his anger upon the stones that had supported his statues, and melted down the coinage that displayed his features. And not content with even this, he now more than ever practised unholy rites, and would force others to share his pollution, by making a kind of annual offering to his brother's Manes.

Though feeling and acting thus with regard to his brother's murder, he took delight in the dissension of the barbarian brothers, on the ground that the Parthians would suffer some great harm because of it.

The Germanic nations, however, afforded him neither pleasure nor any specious claim to wisdom or courage, but proved him to be a downright cheat, a simpleton, and an arrant coward. A.D. 213

Antoninus made a campaign against the Alamanni and whenever he saw a spot suitable for habitation, he would order, "There let a fort be erected. There let a city be built." And he gave these

[1] Geta was a common name for slaves in Latin comedy, as it had been in the Greek originals; originally it was an ethnic name like Syrus.

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[3] Ἀλαμαννούς Bk., ἀλβανούς cod. Peir.

ἐπωνυμίας γέ τινας τοῖς τόποις ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπωνόμαζε, τῶν ἐπιχωρίων μὴ ἀλλοιουμένων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἠγνόουν, οἱ δὲ παίζειν αὐτὸν ἐδόκουν.
5 ἐξ οὗ δὴ καταφρονήσας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἐκείνων ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλ' οἷς συμμαχήσων ἀφῖχθαι ἔλεγεν, τούτους[1] τὰ τῶν πολεμιωτάτων ἔδρασε· συνεκάλεσε γὰρ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ μισθοφορήσουσαν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπὸ παραγγέλματος, αὐτὸς τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀναδείξας, ἐνεκυκλώσατο καὶ κατέκοψε, καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς, περιπέμψας ἱππέας, συνέλαβεν.—Exc. Val. 373 (p. 749).

6 Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος Πανδίονα, ἄνδρα πρότερον μὲν ἡνιόχων ὑπηρέτην γενόμενον, ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς Ἀλαμαννοὺς[2] ἁρματηλατοῦντα αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἑταῖρον ὄντα καὶ συστρατιώτην, ἐπῄνεσεν ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ διὰ γραμμάτων ὡς καὶ ἐκ κινδύνου τινὸς ἐξαισίου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σωθείς, οὐδ' ᾐσχύνθη πλείονα ἐκείνῳ χάριν ἢ τοῖς στρατιώταις, οὓς καὶ ἡμῶν ἀεὶ κρείττους ἦγεν, ἔχων.[3]—Exc. Val. 374 (p. 749).

7 Ὅτι τῶν ἐλλογιμωτάτων οὓς ἔσφαξεν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀτάφους τινὰς ῥίπτεσθαι ἐκέλευσε.[4]—Exc. Val. 375 (p. 749).

Ὅτι τὸ τοῦ Σύλλου μνημεῖον ἀναζητήσας ἐπεσκεύασε,[5] τῷ τε Μεσομήδει τῷ τοὺς κιθαρῳδικοὺς νόμους συγγράψαντι κενοτάφιον ἔχωσε, τῷ μὲν ὅτι καὶ κιθαρῳδεῖν ἐμάνθανεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ὅτι τὴν ὠμότητα αὐτοῦ ἐζήλου.—Exc. Val. 376 (p. 749) = Suid. *s. v.* Μεσομήδης.

[1] τούτους Reim., τούτοις cod. Peir.
[2] Ἀλαμαννούς Bk., ἀλαμβαννούς cod. Peir.
[3] ἦγεν ἔχων Bk., εἶχεν cod. Peir.

places names relating to himself, though the local designations were not changed; for some of the people were unaware of the new names and others supposed he was jesting. Consequently he came to feel contempt for these people and would not spare even them, but accorded treatment befitting the bitterest foes to the very people whom he claimed to have come to help. For he summoned their men of military age, pretending that they were to serve as mercenaries, and then at a given signal—by raising aloft his own shield—he caused them all to be surrounded and cut down, and he sent horsemen round about and arrested all the others. A.D. 213

Antoninus sent a letter to the senate commending Pandion, a man who had formerly been an assistant of charioteers, but in the war against the Alamanni drove the emperor's chariot and thereby became both his comrade and fellow-soldier. In this letter he asserted that he had been saved by this man from an exceptional peril; and he was not ashamed at feeling more gratitude toward him than toward the soldiers, whom in their turn he always regarded as superior to us [senators].

Some of the most distinguished men whom Antoninus slew he ordered to be cast out unburied.

He made search for the tomb of Sulla and repaired it, and also reared a cenotaph to Mesomedes, who had made a compilation of citharoedic modes; he showed honour to the latter because he was himself learning to play the lyre, and to the former because he was emulating his cruelty.

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[4] ἐκέλευσε Val., ἐκέλευεν cod. Peir.

[5] ἐπεσκεύασε Suid., ἐπεσκεύαζεν cod. Peir.

13, 1 Ἐν μέντοι ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις[1] καὶ κατεπειγούσαις στρατείαις λιτὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπέριττος, τὰ μὲν διακονικὰ ὑπηρετήματα καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἄλλοις διαπονούμενος (καὶ γὰρ συνεβάδιζε τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ συνέτρεχε, μὴ λουτρῷ χρώμενος, μὴ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀλλάσσων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν ἔργον συνεργαζόμενος καὶ πᾶσαν 2 τροφὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις αἱρούμενος· καὶ πολλάκις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προέχοντας τῶν πολεμίων πέμπων προεκαλεῖτο[2] αὐτοὺς ἐς μονομαχίαν), τὰ δὲ δὴ στρατηγικά, ὧνπέρ που καὶ μάλιστα διαπεφυκέναι αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν, ἥκιστα καλῶς μεταχειριζόμενος, ὡς ἂν τῆς νίκης ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς ὑπηρετήμασιν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ οὔσης.

14 Ἐπολέμησε καὶ πρός τινας Κέννους, Κελτικὸν ἔθνος· οὓς λέγεται μετὰ τοσούτου θυμοῦ προσπεσεῖν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὥστε καὶ τὰ βέλη, οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀσροηνῶν ἐτιτρώσκοντο, τοῖς στόμασιν ἐκ τῶν σαρκῶν ἀποσπᾶν, ἵνα μὴ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπὸ 2 τῶν σφαγῶν αὐτῶν ἀποδιατρίβωσιν. οὐ μέντοι ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ τῆς ἥττης ὄνομα πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποδόμενοι συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Γερμανίαν ἀποσωθῆναι.[3] τούτων γυναῖκες ἁλοῦσαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτὰς τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου πότερον πραθῆναι ἢ φονευθῆναι βούλονται, τοῦθ' εἵλοντο·[4] ἔπειτ' ἀπεμποληθεῖσαι

[1] ἀναγκαίαις Rk., ἀνάγκαις VC Zon.

[2] προεκαλεῖτο Zon., παρεκαλεῖτο VC.

[3] Petr. Patr. begins his account: ὅτι Ἀντωνῖνος κατὰ Ἀλαμαννῶν ἐξορμήσας χρήμασι τὴν δοκοῦσαν νίκην ἐπρίατο.

[4] Cf. Exc. Val. 377: ὅτι τῶν Χάττων αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τῶν

On necessary and urgent campaigns, however, he was simple and frugal, taking his part scrupulously in the menial duties on terms of equality with the rest. Thus, he would march with the soldiers and run with them, neither bathing nor changing his clothing, but helping them in every task and choosing exactly the same food as they had; and he would often send to the enemy's leaders and challenge them to single combat. The duties of a commander, however, in which he ought to have been particularly well versed, he performed in a very unsatisfactory manner, as if he thought that victory lay in the performance of the humble duties mentioned rather than in good generalship.

He waged war also against the Cenni, a Germanic tribe. These warriors are said to have assailed the Romans with the utmost fierceness, even using their teeth to pull from their flesh the missiles with which the Osroëni wounded them, so that they might have their hands free for slaying their foes without interruption. Nevertheless, even they accepted a defeat in name in return for a large sum of money and allowed him to make his escape back into the province of Germany.[1] Some of their women who were captured by the Romans, upon being asked[2] by Antoninus whether they wished to be sold or slain, chose the latter fate; then, upon

[1] Cf. Patric.: "Antoninus, after setting out against the Alamanni, bought for money his alleged victory."

[2] Cf. Exc. Val.: "The women of the Chatti and Alamanni who had been captured would nevertheless not endure a servile fate, but upon being asked," etc.

Ἀλαμαννῶν (ἀλαμβαννῶν cod.) *οὐ μὴν ὅσαι γε καὶ ἑάλωσαν δουλοπρεπές τι ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ πυθομένου τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου, κτέ.*

πᾶσαι μὲν ἑαυτάς, εἰσὶ δ' αἳ καὶ τὰ τεκνα ἀπέκτειναν.—Xiph. 332, 31—333, 18 R. St.

3 Ὅτι πόλλοὶ καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ὠκεανῷ περὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἄλβιδος ἐκβολὰς οἰκούντων ἐπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν αἰτοῦντες, ἵνα χρήματα λάβωσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὕτως ἐπεπράγει, συχνοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπέθεντο πολεμήσειν ἀπειλοῦντες, οἷς πᾶσι συνέθετο. καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς ἐλέγετο, ἀλλ' ὁρῶντες τοὺς χρυσοῦς ἐδουλοῦντο· ἀληθεῖς γὰρ τοὺς χρυσοῦς αὐτοῖς 4 ἐδωρεῖτο. τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις[1] κίβδηλον καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον παρεῖχεν·[2] τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ μολίβδου καταργυρούμενον, τὸ δὲ ἐκ χαλκοῦ καταχρυσούμενον ἐσκευάζετο.—Exc. Val. 378 (p. 750), Xiph. 333, 18—20 R. St.

15 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἄντικρυς ὡς καὶ καλὰ καὶ ἐπαίνου ἄξια, καὶ τὰ αἴσχιστα, ἐφανέρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἄκων δι' αὐτῶν ὧν ἀντικατεσκεύαζεν ἐξέφαινεν, ὥσπερ που καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων.—Exc. Val. 379 (p. 750).

2 Ὅτι πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπόρθησεν ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι τῶν ἁπάντων ἀκάκωτον κατέλιπεν.—Exc. Val. 380 (p. 750).

Ὅτι τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἔκφρονα καὶ παραπλῆγα αἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπῳδαὶ ἐπεποιήκεσαν·[3] ἀκούοντες γάρ τινες τῶν Ἀλαμαννῶν[4] ἔφασαν ὅτι μαγγανείαις τισὶν ἐπ' ἐκπλήξει τῶν φρενῶν αὐτοῦ

[1] Ῥωμαίοις Val., ῥωμαίων cod. Peir.

[2] Xiphilinus begins: τῷ οὖν Ἀντωνίνῳ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ νόμισμα κίβδηλον ἦν, τό τε ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ὃ παρεῖχεν ἡμῖν.

being sold, they all killed themselves and some slew their children as well. A.D. 213

Many also of the people living close to the ocean itself near the mouths of the Albis sent envoys to him asking for his friendship, though their real purpose was to get money. This was made clear by the fact that, when he had done as they desired, many attacked him, threatening to make war, and yet he came to terms with all of them. For even though the terms proposed were contrary to their wishes, yet when they saw the gold pieces they were captivated. The gold that he gave them was of course genuine, whereas the silver and the gold currency that he furnished to the Romans was debased;[1] for he manufactured the one kind out of lead plated with silver and the other out of copper plated with gold.

He likewise published outright to the world some of his basest deeds, as if they were excellent and praiseworthy, whereas others he revealed unintentionally through the very precautions which he took to conceal them, as, for example, in the case of the money.

Antoninus devastated the whole land and the whole sea and left nothing anywhere unharmed.

The enchantments of the enemy had made Antoninus frenzied and beside himself; at any rate, some of the Alamanni, on hearing of his condition, asserted that they had employed charms to put him

[1] Xiph. begins: "With Antoninus the coinage as well as everything else was debased, both the silver and the gold that he furnished us."

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[3] ἐπεποιήκεσαν Bk., πεποιήκεσαν cod. Peir.

[4] Ἀλαμαννῶν Bk., ἀλαμβανῶν cod. Peir.

3 κέχρηνται. ἐνόσει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῷ σώματι τὰ μὲν ἐμφανέσι τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀρρήτοις ἀρρωστήμασιν, ἐνόσει δὲ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ πικροῖς τισὶ φαντάσμασι, καὶ πολλάκις γε[1] καὶ ἐλαύνεσθαι ὑπό τε τοῦ
4 πατρὸς ὑπό τε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ξιφηρῶν ἐδόκει. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐψυχαγώγησε μέν, ὅπως τινὰ ἄκεσιν αὐτῶν λάβῃ, ἄλλας τέ τινας καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ τε Κομμόδου ψυχήν, εἶπε δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πλὴν τοῦ Κομμόδου· τῷ[2] γὰρ Σεουήρῳ καὶ ὁ Γέτας, ὥς φασι, καὶ ἄκλητος ἐφέσπετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐξέφηνεν οὐδὲν ὠφελῆσαν[3] αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ
5 καὶ πᾶν τοὐναντίον, ὥστε καὶ προσεκφοβῆσαι·[4] ἔφη γὰρ ταῦτα,

"στεῖχε δίκης ἆσσον, θεοὶ ἥν σ'[5] αἰτοῦσι Σεουήρῳ,"

εἶθ' ἕτερόν τι, καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς

"ἐν[6] κρυφίοισι τόποισιν[7] ἔχων δυσαλθέα νοῦσον."

Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτοις δημοσιευθεῖσι πολλοὶ ἐπηρεάσθησαν· ἐκείνῳ δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐς τὴν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε[8] ἐς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἴασιν φέρον, καίτοι πάντας τοὺς
6 ἐπιφανεστάτους θεραπεύσαντι, ἔχρησεν. ἀφ' οὗπερ ἐναργέστατα διεδείχθη ὅτι μήτε τοῖς ἀναθήμασι μήτε ταῖς θυσίαις ἀλλὰ τοῖς βουλή-

[1] γε Val., τε cod. Peir.
[2] τῷ γὰρ—προσεκφοβῆσαι om. VC.
[3] οὐδὲν ὠφελῆσαν Capps, τὸ ὠφελῆσαν Bk., ὠφελῆσαι cod. Peir.
[4] προσεκφοβῆσαι Reim., προεκφοβῆσαι cod. Peir.

out of his mind. For he was sick not only in body, partly from visible and partly from secret ailments, but in mind as well, suffering from certain distressing visions, and often he thought he was being pursued by his father and by his brother, armed with swords. Therefore he called up spirits to find some remedy against them, among others the spirit of his father and that of Commodus. But not one of them spoke a word to him except Commodus; as for Severus, they say that Geta accompanied him, though unsummoned. Yet not even Commodus said anything to help him, but, quite the contrary, so that he terrified him all the more; for this is what he said: A.D. 213

> "Draw nearer judgment, which gods demand of thee for Severus,"

then something else, and finally:

> "Having in secret placed a malady hard to be curèd."

For publishing these facts many were treated with gross indignities. But to Antoninus no one even of the gods gave any response that conduced to healing either his body or his mind, although he paid homage to all the more prominent ones. This showed most clearly that they regarded, not his votive offerings or his sacrifices, but only his purposes

[5] θεοὶ ἧν σ' Rk., θεοὶ ἧν Fabr., τὴν θεοί σ' v. Herw., θεοῦ δίκης cod. Peir.

[6] ἐν supplied by Bk.

[7] τόποισιν cod. Peir., τόποις VC.

[8] οὔτε . . . . οὔτε Val., οὐδέ . . . . ουδέ cod. Peir.

μασι καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ προσεῖχον. οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ὁ Γράννος οὔθ' ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς οὔθ' ὁ Σάραπις καίπερ πολλὰ ἱκετεύσαντι αὐτῷ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προσκαρτερήσαντι ὠφέλησεν. ἔπεμψε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀποδημῶν καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ ἀναθήματα, καὶ πολλοὶ καθ' ἑκάστην 7 οἱ[1] τοιοῦτό τι φέροντες διέθεον· ἦλθε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς καὶ τῇ παρουσίᾳ τι ἰσχύσων, καὶ ἔπραξεν πάνθ' ὅσα οἱ θρησκεύοντές τι ποιοῦσιν, ἔτυχε δ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐς ὑγίειαν[2] τεινόντων.—Exc. Val. 381 (p. 750), Xiph. 333, 21–28 R. St.

16 Ὅτι λέγων εὐσεβέστατος πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι περιττότητι μιαιφονιῶν[3] κατεχρήσατο, τῶν ἀειπαρθένων τέσσαρας ἀποκτείνας, ὧν μίαν αὐτός, ὅτε γε καὶ ἐδύνατο, ᾔσχύγκει· ὕστερον γὰρ ἐξησθένησεν πᾶσα αὐτῷ ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια 2[1] ἰσχύς. ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον αἰσχρουργεῖν ἐλέγετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων, οἳ οὐχ ὅτι ὡμολόγουν τοιοῦτό τι ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας δὴ τῆς ἐκείνου πράττειν ταῦτα ἔφασκον.—Exc. Val. 382 (p. 753), Xiph. 333, 28–31 R. St.

5 Ὅτι νεανίσκος τις ἱππεὺς νόμισμα τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ † ἐς πορνεῖον ἐσήνεγκεν, ἔδειξαν·†[4] ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ τότε μὲν ὡς καὶ θανατωθησόμενος ἐδέθη, ὕστερον 2[2] δὲ τελευτῆσαι φθάσαντος αὐτοῦ ἀπελύθη. ἡ δὲ δὴ κόρη αὕτη, περὶ ἧς λέγω, Κλωδία Λαῖτα

[1] οἱ Reim., ὅτι cod. Peir.

[2] ὑγίειαν Bk., ὑγείαν cod. Peir.

[3] μιαιφονιῶν Bs., μιαιφονίαν cod. Peir.

[4] ἐς πορνεῖον ἐσήνεγκεν ἔδειξαν corrupt; ἔχον ἐς πορνεῖον ἐσενήνεγκεν (sic) ὃ ἰδόντες τινὲς ἐνέδειξαν Rk., προφέρον ἐς πορνεῖον ἐσήνεγκεν, ἐνέδειξαν Bk.

and his deeds. He received no help from Apollo Grannus,[1] nor yet from Aesculapius or Serapis, in spite of his many supplications and his unwearying persistence. For even while abroad he sent to them prayers, sacrifices and votive offerings, and many couriers ran hither and thither every day carrying something of this kind; and he also went to them himself, hoping to prevail by appearing in person, and did all that devotees are wont to do; but he obtained nothing that contributed to health. A.D. 213

While claiming to be the most pious of all mankind, he indulged to an extravagant decree in bloodshed, putting to death four of the Vestal Virgins, one of whom he had himself outraged—when he had still been able to do so; for later all his sexual power had disappeared. Consequently he satisfied his lewd desires, as was reported, in a different manner; and his example was followed by others of similar inclinations, who not only admitted that they were given to such practices but declared that they did so in the interest of the emperor's welfare.

A young knight carried a coin [bearing] his image into a brothel, and [informers] reported [it]; for this the knight was at the time imprisoned to await execution, but later was released, as the emperor died in the meantime. This girl, of whom I was just speaking, was named Clodia Laeta; and she

[1] Grannus was a Celtic god, identified with Apollo. He was worshipped chiefly in Germany and Dacia, and inasmuch as many inscriptions bearing his name have been found near the Danube, it may be conjectured that he had a temple of some importance in that vicinity. See Roscher, I. col. 1738.

3 ὠνομάζετο· ἥτις καὶ μέγα βοῶσα, "οἶδεν αὐτὸς Ἀντωνῖνος ὅτι παρθένος εἰμί, οἶδεν αὐτὸς ὅτι καθαρεύω," ζῶσα κατωρύγη. καὶ συνεκοινώνησαν αὐτῇ καὶ ἕτεραι τρεῖς τῆς καταδίκης, ὧν[1] αἱ μὲν δύο, Αὐρηλία τε Σεουῆρα καὶ Πομπωνία Ῥουφῖνα, ὁμοίως ἀπέθανον, Καννουτία[2] δὲ Κρησκεντῖνα ἑαυτὴν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας ἔρριψεν.—Exc. Val. 383 (p. 753), Xiph. 333, 31—334, 1 R. St.

4 Ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῶν μοιχευόντων τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίει· μοιχικώτατος γὰρ ἀνδρῶν, ἐς ὅσον γε καὶ ἠδυνήθη, γενόμενος, τοὺς ἄλλους τοιαύτην αἰτίαν ἔχοντας καὶ ἤχθαιρε καὶ ἐφόνευε παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα. καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀχθόμενος τιμᾶν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντας ἐπλάττετο.—Exc. Val. 384 (p. 754).

6 Ὅτι Ἀντωνῖνος πᾶσιν ἐπετίμα καὶ ἐνεκάλει ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτὸν ᾔτουν· καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς πάντας· "δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι οὐ θαρρεῖτέ μοι ἐξ ὧν μὴ αἰτεῖτέ με. εἰ δὲ μὴ θαρρεῖτε, ὑποπτεύετέ με, εἰ δὲ ὑποπτεύετε, φοβεῖσθε, εἰ δὲ φοβεῖσθε, μισεῖτε." ταῦτα δὲ πρόφασιν ἐπιβουλῆς ἐποιεῖτο.—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 145 (p. 230 Mai. = p. 214, 1—6 Dind.)

6ª Ὅτι Ἀντωνῖνος Κορνιφικίαν μέλλων ἀναιρεῖν, ὡς δῆθεν τιμῶν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν ἑλέσθαι θάνατον ὃν βούλεται ἀποθανεῖν. ἡ δὲ κλαύσασα πολλά, καὶ μνησθεῖσα τοῦ πατρὸς Μάρκου καὶ τοῦ πάππου Ἀντωνίνου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Κομμόδου, τέλος ἐπήγαγεν ταῦτα· "ὦ δυστυχὲς ψυχίδιον ἐν πονηρῷ σώματι καθειργμένον, ἔξελθε, ἐλευθερώθητι, δεῖξον αὐτοῖς ὅτι Μάρκου θυγάτηρ εἶ, κἂν μὴ θέλωσιν." καὶ ἀποθεμένη πάντα τὸν κόσμον

was buried alive, though protesting in a loud voice, A.D. 213 "Antoninus himself knows that I am a virgin; he himself knows that I am pure." Three others shared her sentence; two of them, Aurelia Severa and Pomponia Rufina, were put to death in the same manner, but Cannutia Crescentina hurled herself down from the top of the house.

In the case of adulterers, also, he acted in the same way; for, though he had shown himself the most adulterous of men,—so long, that is, as he had the power,—he not only detested others who were charged with the same thing, but even slew them in violation of all law. And though he hated all good men, he affected to honour some of them after their death.

Antoninus censured and rebuked them all because they asked nothing of him; and he said to them all: "It is evident from the fact that you ask nothing of me that you do not have confidence in me; and if you do not have confidence, you are suspicious of me; and if you are suspicious, you fear me; and if you fear me, you hate me." And he made this an excuse for plotting their destruction.

Antoninus, when about to kill Cornificia, bade her choose the manner of her death, as if he were thereby showing her especial honour. She first uttered many laments, and then, inspired by the memory of her father, Marcus, her grandfather, Antoninus, and her brother, Commodus, she ended by saying: "Poor, unhappy soul of mine, imprisoned in a vile body, fare forth, be freed, show them that you are Marcus' daughter, whether they will or no." Then she laid

[1] ἂν supplied by Val.
[2] Καννουτία Bs., κανουντία cod. Peir.

ὃν περιεβέβλητο, καὶ εὐθετήσασα ἑαυτὴν τὰς φλέβας ἐπέτεμε καὶ ἀπέθανεν.—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 146 (p. 230 Mai. = p. 214, 7—17 Dind.)

7 Ὅτι ἐς τὴν Θρᾴκην ἀφίκετο ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος μηδὲν ἔτι τῆς Δακίας φροντίσας, καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οὐκ ἀκινδύνως διαβαλὼν τόν τε Ἀχιλλέα καὶ ἐναγίσμασι καὶ περιδρομαῖς ἐνοπλίοις καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐτίμησε, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκείνοις τε, ὡς καὶ μέγα τι κατωρθωκόσι καὶ τὸ Ἴλιον ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὸ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ᾑρηκόσι, χρήματα ἔδωκε, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα χαλκοῦν ἔστησεν.—Exc. Val. 385 (p. 754).

8 Ὅτι εἰς Πέργαμον ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος παραγενόμενος καί τινων ἀμφισβητούντων ἔδοξεν ἔκ τινος μαντείου ἔπος τοιοῦτον προφέρειν,[1]

"Τηλεφίης γαίης ἐπιβήσεται Αὐσόνιος θήρ."

καὶ ὅτι μὲν θὴρ ἐπεκλήθη, ἔχαιρε καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ πολλοὺς πάνυ ἀθρόως ἀνεῖλεν. ὁ δὲ τὸ ἔπος ποιήσας ἐγέλα καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι αὐτὸς τὸ ἔπος ἐποίησεν, ἐνδεικνύμενος ὅτι παρὰ πεπρωμένην οὐκ ἄν τις ἀποθάνοι, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀληθὲς τὸ δημῶδες ὅτι ψεῦσται καὶ ἀπατεῶνες οὐδ' ἂν ἀληθὲς εἴπωσί ποτε πιστεύονται.—Petr. Patr. *exc. Vat.* 147 (p. 230 sq. Mai. = p. 214, 18—28 Dind.)

17 Ἐδίκαζε μὲν οὖν ἤ τι ἢ οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῇ φιλοπραγμοσύνῃ ἐσχόλαζε. πάντα γὰρ δή οἱ πανταχόθεν καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα ἀνηγγέλλετο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας

[1] προφέρειν Capps, περιφέρειν cod.

aside all the adornments in which she was arrayed, and having composed herself in seemly fashion, severed her veins and died. A.D. 213

Antoninus came into Thrace, paying no further heed to Dacia. After crossing the Hellespont, not without danger, he honoured Achilles with sacrifices and with races in armour about his tomb, in which he as well as the soldiers took part; and in honour of this occasion he gave them money, just as if they had gained some great success and had in truth captured the very Troy of old, and he set up a bronze statue of Achilles himself. A.D. 214

When Antoninus arrived at Pergamum and certain persons were debating the authorship of the following verse, he seemed to quote it from some oracle;[1] it ran thus:

> "Into Telephus' land the Ausonian beast shall enter."

And because he was called "beast" he was pleased and proud and put to death great numbers of people at a time. The man who had composed the verse used to laugh and declare that he had composed it himself, in order to show that no one may die contrary to the will of fate, but that the common saying is true which declares that liars and deceivers are never believed, even if now and then they tell the truth.

He held court rarely or never, but devoted most of his leisure to gratifying his curiosity as much as anything. For people brought him word from everywhere of everything, even the most insignificant things; and he accordingly ordered that the soldiers

[1] Cf. ch. 23, 4 inf.

τοὺς ὠτακουστοῦντάς τε καὶ διοπτεύοντας αὐτὰ προσέταξεν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς πλὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κολάζεσθαι. καὶ ἐγένετο κατὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲν χρηστόν, ἀλλ' ἐτυράννησαν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι. καὶ ὅ γε μάλιστα καὶ ἀσχημονέστατον καὶ ἀναξιώτατον καὶ τῆς γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο, καὶ εὐνοῦχος ἡμῶν, τὸ γένος Ἴβηρ, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα Σεμπρώνιος Ῥοῦφος, τὸν δὲ δὴ τρόπον φαρμακεὺς καὶ γόης, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ Σεουήρου 3 ἐς νῆσον κατεκέκλειτο,[1] κατεκράτησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλέ που δίκην ἐπὶ τούτῳ δώσειν ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐνδείξαντές τινας· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐπήγγελλε μὲν ὡς καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἕω αὐτίκα δικάσων ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι δημόσιον πράξων, παρέτεινε δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν μεσημβρίαν καὶ πολλάκις καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας, μηδὲ ἐς τὰ πρόθυρα ἐσδεχόμενος ἀλλ' ἔξω που ἑστῶτας· ὀψὲ γάρ ποτε ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ μηκέτι μηδ' ἀσπάζεσθαι ἡμᾶς ὡς πλήθει. 4 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τά τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοπραγμόνει ὥσπερ εἶπον, καὶ ἅρματα ἤλαυνε θηρία τε ἔσφαζε καὶ ἐμονομάχει καὶ ἔπινε καὶ ἐκραιπάλα, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς τὴν ἔνδον αὐτοῦ φρουρὰν ἔχουσι καὶ κρατῆρας πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ τροφῇ ἐκεράννυε καὶ κύλικας καὶ παρόντων[2] ἡμῶν καὶ ὁρώντων διέπεμπε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐδίκαζε.

18 Ταῦτά τε ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ χειμάσας ἔπραξε, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τὴν Μακεδονικὴν ἐξήσκησε, μηχανήματά τε δύο μέγιστα πρός τε τὸν Ἀρμενικὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Παρθικὸν πόλεμον κατεσκεύασεν, ἵνα διαλύσας αὐτὰ ἐπὶ πλοίων ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀποκο-

[1] κατεκέκλειτο Dind., κατεκέκλειστο VC.
[2] καὶ παρόντων Sylb., παρόντων καὶ VC.

who kept their ears and eyes open for these details A.D. 214 should not be punished by anyone but himself. Nothing good came of this order, but rather another set of tyrants to terrorize us,—even these soldiers. And—what was in the last degree disgraceful and unworthy of both the senate and of the Roman people—we had a eunuch to domineer over us. He was a native of Spain, Sempronius Rufus by name, and his occupation was that of sorcerer and juggler, for which he had been confined on an island by Severus; and he was destined to pay the penalty later for his conduct, as were also the rest of the informers. As for Antoninus himself, he would send us word that he was going to hold court or transact some other public business directly after dawn, but he would keep us waiting until noon and often until evening, and would not even admit us to the vestibule, so that we had to stand round outside somewhere; and usually at some late hour he decided that he would not even exchange greetings with us that day. Meanwhile he was engaged in gratifying his curiosity in various ways, as I have said, or was driving chariots, slaying wild beasts, fighting as a gladiator, drinking, nursing the resultant headaches, mixing great bowls of wine—in addition to all their other food—for the soldiers that guarded him inside the palace, and passing it round in cups, in our presence and before our eyes; and after this he would now and then hold court.

Such was his behaviour while in winter-quarters A.D. 214–15 at Nicomedeia. He also drilled the Macedonian phalanx, and built two very large engines for the Armenian and Parthian wars, so constructed that he could take them apart and carry them in ships to

μίση. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐμιαιφόνει καὶ παρηνόμει καὶ 2 *τὰ χρήματα κατανήλισκεν. οὐδὲ ἐπείθετο οὔτε περὶ τούτων οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῇ μητρὶ πολλὰ καὶ χρηστὰ παραινούσῃ, καίτοι καὶ τὴν τῶν βιβλίων τῶν τε ἐπιστολῶν ἑκατέρων, πλὴν τῶν πάνυ ἀναγκαίων, διοίκησιν αὐτῇ ἐπιτρέψας, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιστολαῖς ὁμοίως τῷ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ τῷ τῶν στρατευμάτων,* 3 *ὅτι σώζεται, μετ' ἐπαίνων πολλῶν ἐγγράφων. τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν ὅτι καὶ ἠσπάζετο δημοσίᾳ πάντας τοὺς πρώτους καθάπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος; ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐφιλοσόφει, ὁ δὲ ἔλεγε μὲν μηδενὸς ἔξω τῶν ἀναγκαίων προσδεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο ὡς ὅτι εὐτελεστάτῃ τῇ διαίτῃ χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος, ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν οὐκ ἐπίγειον, οὐ θαλάττιον, οὐκ ἀέριον, ὃ μὴ οὐ καὶ* 4 *ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ αὐτῷ παρείχομεν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐλάχιστα μὲν τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς συνοῦσίν οἱ ἀνήλισκεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ συσσιτεῖν ἔθ' ἡμῖν ἤθελεν), τὰ δὲ δὴ πλείω μετὰ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων ἐδαπάνα. τοῖς δὲ μάγοις καὶ γόησιν οὕτως ἔχαιρεν ὡς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Καππαδόκην τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ ἀνθήσαντα ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, ὅστις καὶ γόης καὶ μάγος ἀκριβὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡρῷον αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι.*—Xiph. 334, 1—335, 9 R. St., Exc. Val. 386 (p. 754).

19 *Ἐκστρατεύσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν Πάρθων πρόφασις τοῦ πολέμου ἦν ὅτι Οὐολόγαισος τόν τε Τιριδάτην*[1] *καὶ Ἀντίοχόν τινα μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐξαιτήσαντι*[2] *αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐξέδωκεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος*

[1] *Τιριδάτην* Dind., *τηριδάτην* VC.
[2] *ἐξαιτήσαντι* H. Steph., *ἐξαιτήσαντα* VC.

Syria. For the rest, he was staining himself with blood, doing lawless deeds, and squandering money. Neither in these matters nor in any others did he heed his mother, who gave him much excellent advice. And yet he had appointed her to receive petitions and to have charge of his correspondence in both languages, except in very important cases, and used to include her name, in terms of high praise, together with his own and that of the legions, in his letters to the senate, stating that she was well. Need I add that she held public receptions for all the most prominent men, precisely as did the emperor? But, while she devoted herself more and more to the study of philosophy with these men, he kept declaring that he needed nothing beyond the necessaries of life and plumed himself over his pretended ability to live on the cheapest kind of fare; yet there was nothing on land or sea or in the air that we did not regularly supply to him both by private gifts and by public grants. Of these articles he used extremely few for the benefit of the friends about him (for he no longer cared to dine with us [senators]), but most of them he consumed with his freedmen. His delight in magicians and jugglers was so great that he commended and honoured Apollonius of Cappadocia,[1] who had flourished under Domitian and was a thorough juggler and magician, and erected a shrine to him.

A.D. 214–15

When he made an expedition against the Parthians, his pretext for war was that Vologaesus had not granted his request for the surrender of Tiridates and a certain Antiochus along with him. Antiochus

A.D. 215.

[1] The famous Apollonius of Tyana.

Κίλιξ μὲν ἦν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν κυνηδὸν τὰ πρῶτα ἐπλάττετο, καὶ πλεῖστά γε ἐκ τούτου τοὺς 2 στρατιώτας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὠφέλησεν· ἀπαλγοῦντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ ῥίγους ἐπερρώννυεν, ἔς τε τὴν χιόνα ῥίπτων ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καλινδούμενος, ὅθενπερ καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τιμῶν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ἔτυχεν· ἐπαρθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῷ Τιριδάτῃ[1] συνεξητάσθη, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον ηὐτομόλησε.—Xiph. 335, 9—18 R. St., Exc. Val. 387 (p. 754), Suid. *s.vv.* Ἀντίοχος ὁ αὐτόμολος, ἀπαλγοῦντες.

20, 2[2] Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἑαυτὸν διέβαλε, φάσκων ὅτι τῶν Κελτῶν τὴν θρασύτητα καὶ τὴν ἀπληστίαν τήν τε ἀπιστίαν, ἀνάλωτον οὖσαν βίᾳ, ἀπατήσας εἰλήφει.—Exc. Val. 388 (p. 754).

3 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τὸν μὲν[2] Λουσκῖνον[3] τὸν Φαβρίκιον ἐπῄνει ὅτι μὴ ἠθέλησε τὸν Πύρρον διὰ τοῦ φίλου αὐτοῦ[4] δολοφονῆσαι, ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς Οὐανδίλους[5] καὶ τοὺς Μαρκομάνους[6] φίλους ὄντας ἀλλήλοις συγκεκρουκέναι, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸν τῶν Κουάδων βασιλέα Γαϊοβόμαρον 4 κατηγορηθέντα ἀπεκτόνει. καὶ ὅτι τῶν συνόντων τις καὶ συγκατηγορουμένων αὐτῷ προαπήγξατο, ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ κατατρῶσαι, ἵν' ὡς καὶ καταδεδικασμένος ἐσφάχθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἑκουσίως, ὅπερ εὔδοξον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐνομίζετο, τετελευτηκέναι νομισθείη.—Exc. Val. 389 (p. 754).

[1] Τιριδάτῃ cod. Peir., τηριδάτῃ VC Suid.
[2] μὲν supplied by Bk.
[3] Λουσκῖνον Val. (in vers.), λούκιον cod. Peir.

was a Cilician who at first had pretended to be a philosopher of the Cynic school, and in this way had proved of the greatest help to the soldiers in the war; for when they were dispirited by reason of the excessive cold, he would encourage them by throwing himself into the snow and rolling in it. Hence he had obtained both money and honours from Severus himself as well as from Antoninus, but becoming conceited at this, he had attached himself to Tiridates and deserted with him to the Parthian king. A.D. 215

Antoninus maligned himself when he claimed that he had overcome the recklessness, greed, and treachery of the Germans by deceit, since these qualities could not be conquered by force.

He likewise commended Fabricius Luscinus because he had been unwilling to secure the death of Pyrrhus through the treachery of a friend; and yet he took pride in having stirred up enmity between the Vandili and the Marcomani, who had been friends, and in having executed Gaïobomarus, the king of the Quadi, against whom accusation had been laid. And when one of the king's associates, under accusation with him, hanged himself before he could be punished, Antoninus delivered his body to the barbarians to be wounded, in order that the man might be thought to have been sentenced to death and executed rather than to have died by his own hand, which was deemed an honourable act among them.

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[4] αὐτοῦ Reim., ἑαυτοῦ cod. Peir.
[5] Οὐανδίλους Bk., βανδίλους cod. Peir.
[6] Μαρκομάνους Reim., μαρκομμάνους cod. Peir.

Ὅτι Καικίλιον Αἰμιλιανὸν τῆς Βαιτικῆς ἄρξαντα ὡς καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐν τοῖς Γαδείροις χρησάμενον ἀπέκτεινεν.—Exc. Val. 390 (p. 757).

19 Πρὶν δὲ ἀπᾶραι ἀπὸ Νικομηδείας, ἀγῶνα μονομαχίας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ γενεθλίοις ἐποίησεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν φόνων ἀπείχετο. ἔνθα λέγεται, ἡττηθέντος τινὸς καὶ ἱκετεύοντος αὐτὸν ὅπως σωθῇ, τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον 4 εἰπεῖν "ἄπελθε καὶ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου δεήθητι· ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστί σου φείσασθαι." καὶ οὕτως ὁ ἄθλιος, τάχ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ σωθεὶς εἰ μὴ τοῦτο εἴρητο, διεφθάρη· οὐ γὰρ ἐτόλμησεν αὐτὸν ἀφεῖναι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ φιλανθρωπότερος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εἶναι δόξῃ.

20 Καὶ μέντοι τοιαῦτα ποιῶν, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ τρυφῶν ὥστε καὶ τὸ γένειον πάνυ ψιλίζεσθαι, αὐτός τε ὠδύρετο ὡς ἐν[1] μεγάλοις δήτισι καὶ πόνοις καὶ κινδύνοις ὤν, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπετίμα, τά τε ἄλλα ῥᾳστωνεύειν σφᾶς λέγων καὶ[2] μήτε συνιέναι προθύμως μήτε κατ' ἄνδρα τὴν γνώμην 2 διδόναι. καὶ τέλος ἔγραψεν ὅτι "οἶδα μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἀρέσκει[3] τὰ ἐμὰ ὑμῖν· διὰ τοῦτο μέντοι καὶ ὅπλα καὶ στρατιώτας ἔχω, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν λογοποιουμένων ἐπιστρέφωμαι."

21 Τοῦ δὲ Πάρθου φοβηθέντος καὶ τὸν Τιριδάτην[4] καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐκδόντος, ἀφῆκε τὴν στρατείαν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα. ἐς δὲ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους στείλας τὸν Θεόκριτον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἰσχυρῶς ἔπταισε παρ' αὐτῶν ἡττηθείς.—Xiph. 335, 18—336, 3 R. St.

[1] ἐν Zon., om. VC. [2] καὶ supplied by Bk.
[3] ἀρέσκει Camerarius (so Exc. Vat.), ἀρκέσει VC.

He put to death Caecilius Aemilianus, who had been governor of Baetica, on the ground that he had consulted the oracle of Hercules at Gades. A.D. 215

Before leaving Nicomedeia Antoninus held a gladiatorial contest there in honour of his birthday; for not even on that day would he refrain from bloodshed. Here it is said that when a defeated combatant begged him to spare his life, Antoninus said: "Go and entreat your adversary. I have no power to spare you." And so the wretch, who would perhaps have been spared by his antagonist, had these words not been spoken, lost his life; for the victor did not dare to release him, for fear of appearing more humane than the emperor.

Nevertheless, while he was thus occupied and was indulging in luxurious living at Antioch, even to the point of keeping his chin wholly bare, he not only bewailed his own lot, as if he were in the midst of some great hardships and dangers, but he also found fault with the senate, declaring that in addition to being slothful in other respects they did not assemble with any eagerness and did not give their votes individually. And in conclusion he wrote: "I know that my behaviour does not please you; but that is the very reason that I have arms and soldiers, so that I may disregard what is said about me."

When the Parthian king became frightened and surrendered both Tiridates and Antiochus, Antoninus immediately disbanded the expedition. But he sent Theocritus with an army against the Armenians, only to suffer a severe reverse when that general was defeated by them.

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[1] Τιριδάτην Dind., τηριδάτην VC.

2 Ὅτι Θεόκριτος ὁ Καισάρειος, δι' οὗ ὀρχεῖσθαι ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος μεμάθηκεν, καὶ παιδικὰ τοῦ Σαωτέρου[1] ἐγεγόνει καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων θέατρον ἐσῆκτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ κακῶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐφέρετο, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐξέπεσεν, ἐς δὲ τὸ Λούγδουνον ἐλθὼν ἐκείνους ἅτε καὶ ἀγροικοτέρους ἔτερπε, καὶ ἐκ δούλου καὶ ἐξ ὀρχηστοῦ καὶ στρατιάρχης καὶ ἔπαρχος ἐγένετο.—Exc. Val. 391 (p. 757).

Ἦν δὲ ὁ Θεόκριτος ἐκ δούλου γεγονὼς καὶ τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ ἐμπαιδοτριβηθείς, ἐς τοσαύτην μέντοι ἤλασε δυναστείαν παρ' Ἀντωνίνῳ ὡς μηδὲν εἶναι ἄμφω πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐπάρχους. τὰ δ' ἴσα[2] αὐτῷ καὶ Ἐπάγαθος, Καισάρειος καὶ αὐτὸς ὤν, 3 καὶ ἠδύνατο καὶ παρηνόμει. ὁ γοῦν Θεόκριτος (διεφοίτα γὰρ ἄνω καὶ κάτω τῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ παρασκευῆς καὶ καπηλείας ἕνεκεν) συχνοὺς διά τε ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλως ἀπέκτεινε· μεθ' ὧν καὶ 4 Τιτιανὸς Φλάουιος[3] ἐφονεύθη. ἐπιτροπεύων γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ προσέπταισέ τι αὐτῷ, κἀκεῖνος ἀναπηδήσας ἐκ τοῦ βάθρου τὸ ξίφος ἐσπάσατο· ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ Τιτιανός "καὶ τοῦτο" εἶπεν "ὡς ὀρχηστὴς ἐποίησας." ὅθεν ἐκεῖνος ὑπεραγανακτήσας ἀποσφαγῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν.

22 Ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος, καίτοι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεραγαπᾶν φάσκων, τοὺς ἐκείνου πολίτας μικροῦ δεῖν πάντας ἄρδην ἀπώλεσεν. ἀκούων γὰρ ὅτι διαβάλλοιτο[4] καὶ σκώπτοιτο παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπί τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῇ ἀδελφοκτονίᾳ,

[1] Σαωτέρου Val., σαζωτέρου cod. Peir.
[2] δ' ἴσα H. Steph., ἴσα δ' VC.
[3] Φλάουιος Bk., φλάβιος VC.

Theocritus was an imperial freedman who had taught Antoninus to dance and had been a favourite of Saoterus, thanks to which he had been introduced to the theatre at Rome. But, as he was unsuccessful there, he was driven out of Rome and went to Lugdunum, where he delighted the people, since they were rather countrified. Thus, from a slave and a dancer, he rose to be commander of an army and prefect. A.D. 215

Theocritus was the son of a slave, and had been brought up in the theatre, but he advanced to such power under Antoninus that both the prefects were as nothing compared to him. Then there was Epagathus, his equal in power and lawlessness, who was likewise an imperial freedman. As for Theocritus, he kept travelling to and fro for the purpose of securing provisions and then hawking them at retail, and he put many people to death in connexion with this business as well as for other reasons. One of his victims was Flavius Titianus. This man, while procurator at Alexandria, offended him in some manner, whereupon Theocritus, leaping from his seat, drew his sword; and at that Titianus remarked: "That, too, you did like a dancer." This angered Theocritus extremely, and he ordered Flavius to be slain.

Now Antoninus, in spite of the immense affection which he professed to cherish for Alexander, all but utterly destroyed the whole population of Alexander's city. For, hearing that he was ill-spoken of and ridiculed by them for various reasons, not the least of which was the murder of his brother, he set out

[4] διαβάλλοιτο R. Steph., διαβάλοιτο VC.

ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἐπικρυπτόμενος
2 τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ ποθεῖν αὐτοὺς προσποιούμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἦλθε, τοὺς μὲν πρώτους αὐτῶν μεθ' ἱερῶν τινῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐλθόντας δεξιωσάμενος ὡς καὶ συνεστίους ποιῆσαι ἀπέκτεινε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἐξοπλίσας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐνέβαλε, πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις προπαραγγείλας οἴκοι μένειν, πάσας δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ
3 προσέτι καὶ τὰ τέγη προκατασχών. καὶ ἵνα τὰς κατὰ μέρος συμφορὰς τὰς τότε κατασχούσας τὴν ἀθλίαν πόλιν παρῶ, τοσούτους κατέσφαξεν ὥστε μηδὲ εἰπεῖν περὶ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν τολμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ γράψαι ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει πόσοι σφῶν ἢ τίνες ἐτελεύτησαν· πάντες γὰρ τοῦτο παθεῖν ἄξιοι ἦσαν. τῶν δὲ χρημάτων τὰ
23 μὲν διηρπάσθη τὰ δὲ διεφθάρη. συναπώλοντο δ' οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ξένων πολλοί, καὶ συχνοί γε τῶν μετὰ τοῦ[1] Ἀντωνίνου ἐλθόντων ἀγνοίᾳ συνδιεφθάρησαν· τῆς τε γὰρ πόλεως μεγάλης οὔσης, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν πάσῃ ἅμα αὐτῇ καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν φονευομένων, οὐδένα, οὐδὲ εἰ πάνυ τις ἐβούλετο, διακρῖναι ἠδύνατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔθνησκον ὥς που ἔτυχον, καὶ τὰ σώματά σφων αὐτίκα ἐς τάφρους βαθείας ἐνεβάλλετο,[2] ὅπως ἀφανὲς ᾖ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς
2 συμφορᾶς. ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἔπαθον, οἱ δὲ δὴ ξένοι πάντες ἐξηλάθησαν πλὴν τῶν ἐμπόρων, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πάντα διηρπάσθη· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἱερά τινα ἐσυλήθη. καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν πλείω αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος παρὼν καὶ

[1] τοῦ supplied by Bk.
[2] ἐνεβάλλετο Bk., ἐνεβάλοντο VC.

for Alexandria, concealing his wrath and pretending A.D. 215 that he longed to see them. So when he reached the suburbs, whither the leading citizens had come with certain mystic and sacred symbols, he first greeted them cordially, even making them his guests at a banquet, and then put them to death. Then, having arrayed his whole army, he marched into the city, after first notifying all the inhabitants to remain at home and after occupying all the streets and all the roofs as well. And, to pass over the details of the calamities that then befell the wretched city, he slaughtered so many persons that he did not even venture to say anything about their number, but wrote to the senate that it was of no interest how many of them or who had died, since all had deserved to suffer this fate. Of the money in the city, part was plundered and part destroyed. Together with the citizens there perished also many outsiders, and not a few of those who had accompanied Antoninus were slain with the rest through ignorance of their identity; for, as the city was large and people were being murdered in all parts of it simultaneously both by night and by day, it was impossible to distinguish anybody, however much one might desire to do so, but people perished as chance directed and their bodies were straightway cast into deep trenches, to keep the rest from becoming aware of the extent of the calamity. Such was the fate of the natives. The foreigners were all expelled, except the merchants, and naturally all the property of these was plundered; for even some shrines were despoiled. Antoninus was present at most of this slaughter and pillaging, both looking on and taking a hand, but sometimes he issued

ὁρῶν ἐποίει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Σεραπείου προσέταττέ τισιν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ τεμένει διῃτᾶτο κἀν ταῖς τῶν μιαιφονιῶν αὐτῶν νυξὶ καὶ ἡμέραις.—Xiph. 336, 3—337, 9 R. St.

2 Ὅτι τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἀποσφάττων ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει διαιτώμενος ἐπέστειλε τῇ γερουσίᾳ ὅτι ἥγνευσεν ἐν αὐταῖς ἐν αἷς τά τε βοσκήματα ἅμα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἑαυτῷ[1] ἔθυεν.—Exc. Val. 392 (p. 757).

3 Καὶ τί τοῦτο εἶπον, ὁπότε καὶ τὸ ξίφος δι' οὗ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπεκτόνει ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ ἐτόλμησεν; ἐκ δὲ τούτου τάς τε θέας καὶ τὰ συσσίτια τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων καταλύσας τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διατειχισθῆναί τε καὶ φρουρίοις διαληφθῆναι[2] ἐκέλευσεν, ὅπως μηκέτ' ἀδεῶς παρ' 4 ἀλλήλους φοιτῷεν. τοιαῦτα περὶ τὴν ταλαίπωρον Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἔδρασεν ὁ Αὐσόνιος θήρ, ὡς τὸ ἀκροτελεύτιον τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῦτον ὠνόμασεν, ᾧ καὶ χαίρειν ἔφασαν αὐτόν, τῇ τοῦ θηρὸς κλήσει καλλωπιζόμενον, εἰ καὶ πολλοὺς προφάσει τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐφόνευσεν ὡς προενεγκαμένους αὐτόν.—Xiph. 337, 9-17 R. St., Exc. Val. 393 (p. 757).

24 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἆθλα τῆς στρατείας, τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ τεταγμένοις ἑξακισχιλίας[3] διακοσίας πεντήκοντα, τοῖς δὲ πεντακισχιλίας λαμβάνειν . . .—Exc. Val. 394 (p. 757).

2 Ὅτι ὁ σώφρων ἐκεῖνος, ὥς γε καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὁ τῆς

[1] ἑαυτῷ Bk., ἐν αὐτῶι cod. Peir.
[2] διαληφθῆναι Sylb., διατειχισθῆναι VC.

orders to others from the temple of Serapis; for he lived in this god's precinct even during the very nights and days of bloodshed. A.D. 215

Antoninus, while slaughtering the Alexandrians and living in the sacred precincts, sent word to the senate that he was performing rites of purification on those very [days] when he was in reality sacrificing human beings to himself at the same time that he sacrificed animals to the god.

Yet why do I mention this, when he actually dared to dedicate to the god the sword with which he had slain his brother? Next he abolished the spectacles and the public messes of the Alexandrians and ordered that Alexandria should be divided by a cross-wall and occupied by guards at frequent intervals, in order that the inhabitants might no longer visit one another freely. Such was the treatment accorded unhappy Alexandria by the "Ausonian beast," as the tag-end of the oracular utterance concerning him called him.[1] He was said to be pleased with this utterance and to take pride in the appellation of "beast," and this in spite of the fact that he slew many persons on the ground that they had divulged the oracle.

He likewise gave prizes to the soldiers for their campaign, to those assigned to the pretorian guard twenty-five thousand sesterces,[2] and to the rest twenty thousand . . . .

That temperate man, as he was wont to call him-

[1] See ch. 16, 8 sup.

[2] Literally, 6250 [denarii], a plausible emendation of Lange for the 1250 given by the MS. (cf. critical note); the Pretorians naturally would receive more than the other troops.

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[3] ἑξακισχιλίας Lange, ἐς χιλίας cod. Peir.

τῶν ἄλλων ἀσελγείας ἐπιτιμητής, αἰσχίστου τε ἅμα καὶ δεινοτάτου τολμήματος γενομένου ἔδοξε μὲν ὀργὴν πεποιῆσθαι, τῷ δὲ δὴ μήτ'[1] *ἐκείνῃ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις προσεπιτρέψαι ποιεῖν ἃ μηδεὶς μέχρι τότε ἐτετολμήκει,*[2] *πολύ σφισιν ἐλυμήνατο μιμησαμένοις*[3] *τὰ τῶν ἑταιρῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν γελωτοποιῶν.*—Exc. Val. 395 (p. 757).

3 *Ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ θέα τῇ Κουλήνῃ ἐπηγορία πολλὴ οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ποιοῦσιν ἐκεῖ τι τῶν εἰωθότων ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὁρῶσιν ἐγίγνετο.*—Exc. Val. 396 (p. 757).

[1] *μήτ'* Bk., *μὴ* cod. Peir.
[2] *ἐτετολμήκει* Dind., *τετολμίκει* cod. Peir.
[3] *μιμησαμένοις* Reim., *μιμησαμένων* cod. Peir.

self, that rebuker of licentiousness in others, now that an outrage at once most shameful and dreadful had occurred, appeared in truth to have become angered; but by failing to follow up his anger in the proper manner and furthermore by permitting the youths to do what no one had ever yet dared to do, he greatly corrupted the latter, who had imitated the ways of courtesans among the women and of buffoons among the men. A.D. 215

On the occasion of the Culenian spectacle[1] severe censure was passed, not only on those who did there what they were in the habit of doing, but also on the spectators.

[1] Nothing is known about these games.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

LXXVIII 1, 1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσας πρόφασιν ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀρτάβανος τὴν θυγατέρα μνηστευσαμένῳ συνοικίσαι (καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν ἐκείνην γῆμαι, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν τῶν Πάρθων βασιλείαν παρασπάσασθαι ἐπεθύμει), πολλὰ μὲν τῆς χώρας τῆς 2 περὶ τὴν Μηδίαν, ἅτε καὶ ἐξαπιναίως ἐμπεσὼν ἐς αὐτήν, ἐκάκωσε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τείχη ἐπόρθησε, τά τε Ἄρβηλα παρεστήσατο, καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τὰ βασιλικὰ τῶν Πάρθων ἀνορύξας τὰ ὀστᾶ ἔρριψεν· οἱ γὰρ Πάρθοι οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἦλθον. 3 οὔκουν οὐδὲ ἔσχον τι ἐξαίρετον περὶ τῶν τότε πραχθέντων συγγράψαι, πλὴν ὅτι δύο στρατιῶται ἀσκὸν οἴνου ἁρπάσαντες προσῆλθον αὐτῷ, ἰδιούμενος ὅλον ἑκάτερος τὸ λάφυρον, καὶ κελευσθέντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ νείμασθαι τὸν οἶνον τά τε ξίφη ἐσπάσαντο καὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν διέτεμον ὡς καὶ ἐξ ἡμισείας αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ οἴνου ληψόμενοι. 4 οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σφων ᾐδοῦντο ὥστ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐνοχλεῖν, καὶ φρονήσει ἐχρῶντο ὡς καὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἀπολέσαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι ἐς τὰ ὄρη καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Τίγριν ἀπέφυγον, ἵνα παρασκευάσωνται· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀντωνῖνος τοῦτο μὲν ἀπεκρύπτετο, ὡς

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXIX

After this Antoninus made a campaign against the Parthians, on the pretext that Artabanus had refused to give him his daughter in marriage when he sued for her hand; for the Parthian king had realized clearly enough that the emperor, while pretending to want to marry her, was in reality eager to get the Parthian kingdom incidentally for himself. So Antoninus now ravaged a large section of the country around Media by making a sudden incursion, sacked many fortresses, won over Arbela, dug open the royal tombs of the Parthians, and scattered the bones about. This was the easier for him to accomplish inasmuch as the Parthians did not even join battle with him; and accordingly I have found nothing of especial interest to record concerning the incidents of that campaign except the following anecdote. Two soldiers who had seized a skin of wine came to him, each claiming the booty as his alone; and upon being ordered by him to divide the wine equally, they drew their swords and cut the wine skin in half, apparently expecting each to get a half with the wine in it. Thus they had so little reverence for their emperor that they troubled him with such matters as this, and exercised so little intelligence that they lost both the skin and the wine. The barbarians took refuge in the mountains beyond the Tigris in order to complete their preparations, but Antoninus suppressed this fact and took to himself as much credit

A.D. 216

5 δὲ δὴ καὶ παντελῶς αὐτῶν, οὓς μηδὲ ἑωράκει, κεκρατηκὼς ἐσεμνύνετο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι λέων τις ἐξαίφνης ἐξ ὄρους καταδραμὼν συνεμάχησεν 2 αὐτῷ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπέστειλεν. οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰ ἄλλα ἐκδιῃτᾶτο καί παρηνόμει καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς στρατείαις (ἀλλὰ καί τινα ἰδίαν κ. τ. λ. c. 3. 3). Xiph. 337, 17—338, 6 R. St.

. . . ἀλλ'[1] ἀλήθεια· καὶ γὰρ τῷ βιβλίῳ τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντι οἱ ἐνέτυχον. οὕτω γάρ που πρὸς πάντας τοὺς βουλευτὰς διακειμένῳ συνῄδει ἑαυτῷ[2] ὥστε μηδ' ἐγκαλουμένων τι πολλῶν τούς τε δούλους καὶ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τούς τε φίλους αὐτῶν τοὺς πάνυ συλλαμβάνεσθαί τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ βασάνων ἐρωτᾶσθαι "εἰ ἄρα ὁ δεῖνά με φιλεῖ" ἢ "ὁ δεῖνά με μισεῖ;" καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ πρὸς[3] τὰ τῶν ἀστέρων διαγράμματα, καθ' ἃ ἐγεγέννητό τις τῶν πρώτων τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ,[4] ἐτεκμαίρετο, ὡς ἔλεγεν, τόν τε οἰκείως οἱ καὶ τὸν ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντα, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἐκ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐτίμα τοὺς δ' ἀπώλλυεν.

3 Τῶν δ' οὖν Πάρθων τῶν τε Μήδων δεινῶς ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεπόνθεσαν ἀγανακτησάντων καὶ χεῖρα πολλὴν παρασκευαζομένων ἐν παντὶ δέους ἐγένετο· θρασύτατος μὲν γὰρ ἀπειλῆσαί τι[5] καὶ προπετέστατος τολμῆσαι, δειλότατος δὲ διακινδυνεῦσαί πῃ καὶ ἀσθενέστατος πονῆσαι ἦν.

[1] Here begins Cod. Vat. 1288 (V); see Vol. I. Pref. p. xxvi. This MS. has become illegible in many places and has suffered considerably from the trimming of the edges. In the present critical apparatus only such readings of V are recorded as clearly depart from the text of Boissevain here reproduced; this text includes some fairly certain additions

as if he had utterly vanquished these foes, whom as a matter of fact he had not even seen; and he was particularly elated because, as he himself wrote, a lion had suddenly run down from a mountain and fought on his side. Not only in other ways did he live in an unusual manner and violate precedents even on his very campaigns, (but he also invented a costume of his own, etc.) A.D. 212

. . . but truth; for I have read the book written by him about it. He realized so well how he stood with all the senators that the slaves and freedmen and most intimate friends of many of them who were not even under any charge at all were arrested by him and were asked under torture whether So-and-so loved him or So-and-so hated him. Indeed, he used to judge, as he said, even by the charts of the stars under which any of the prominent men about him had been born, which one was friendly to him and which was hostile; and on this evidence he honoured many persons and destroyed many others.

When the Parthians and the Medes, greatly angered by the treatment they had received, proceeded to raise a large army, he fell into the greatest terror. For, though he was most bold with his threats and most reckless in his undertakings, yet he was the greatest coward in the face of danger and the greatest weakling in the presence of hard- A.D. 217

(chiefly of parts of words and short phrases) made by various scholars to fill the more obvious lacunae.

[2] ἑαυτῷ supplied by Bs., following Sauppe (αυτῷ after διακειμένῳ).

[3] πρὸς supplied by Polak.

[4] αὐτῷ Leich., ΑΥΤΩΝ V cod. Peir.

[5] τι cod. Peir., om. V.

2 οὕτω γὰρ οὔτε τὸ καῦμα οὔθ' ὅπλα φέρειν ἔτι ἐδύνατο ὥστε καὶ τοὺς χειριδωτοὺς χιτῶνας ἐς θώρακος τρόπον τινὰ εἶδος πεποιημένους ἐνδύνειν, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ ὅπλου[1] δόξαν χωρὶς τοῦ βάρους αὐτοῦ ἔχων μήτε ἐπιβουλεύηται καὶ θαυμάζηται. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄνευ μάχης πολλάκις ἐχρῆτο. 3 χλαμύδα τε τοτὲ μὲν ὁλοπόρφυρον τοτὲ δὲ μεσόλευκον, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ μεσοπόρφυρον, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ εἶδον, ἐφόρει. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Συρίᾳ τῇ τε Μεσοποταμίᾳ Κελτικοῖς καὶ ἐσθήμασιν καὶ ὑποδήμασιν ἐχρήσατο. καί τινα ἰδίαν ἔνδυσιν βαρβαρικῶς πως κατακόπτων καὶ συρράπτων ἐς μανδύης τρόπον προσεπεξεῦρεν, καὶ αὐτός τε συνεχέστατα αὐτὴν ἐνέδυνεν, ὥστε καὶ Καράκαλλος διὰ τοῦτο ἐπικληθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας μάλιστα ἀμφιέννυσθαι ἐκέλευεν.

4 Αὐτόν τε οὖν τοιοῦτον οἱ βάρβαροι ὁρῶντες ὄντα, καὶ ἐκείνους πολλοὺς μὲν ἀκούοντες εἶναι, ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς προτέρας τρυφῆς (τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἐν οἰκίαις[2] ἐχείμαζον, πάντα τὰ τῶν ξενοδοκούντων σφᾶς ὡς καὶ ἴδια ἀναλίσκοντες) καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόνων τῆς τε ταλαιπωρίας τῆς τότε αὐτοῖς παρούσης οὕτω καὶ τὰ σώματα τετρυχωμένους καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τεταπεινωμένους[3] 5 ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν λημμάτων ἔτι, ἃ πολλὰ ἀεὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον, προτιμᾶν, αἰσθόμενοι, ἐπήρθησαν ὡς καὶ συναγωνιστὰς αὐτοὺς ἀλλ'

[1] τοῦ ὅπλου Bk., ΤΟΥΑΠΛΟΥ V, τοῦ ἁπλοῦ cod. Peir.
[2] ἐν οἰκίαις cod. Peir., ΕΝ|ΚΙΑΙ V, ἐνοικίᾳ Xiph.
[3] τεταπεινωμένους Bk., ΤΕΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ V cod. Peir.

ships. He could no longer bear great heat or the weight of armour, and therefore wore sleeved tunics fashioned more or less like a breastplate,[1] so that, by creating the impression of armour without its weight, he could be safe from plots and at the same time rouse admiration. Indeed, he often wore this dress even when not in battle. His mantle was either of pure purple or of purple with a white stripe down the centre; though occasionally the stripe only was of purple, as I myself have seen. In Syria, however, and in Mesopotamia he used German clothing and shoes. He also invented a costume of his own, which was made in a rather foreign fashion out of small pieces of cloth sewed together into a kind of cloak[2]; and he not only wore this most of the time himself (in consequence of which he was given the nickname Caracallus), but he also prescribed it as the regular dress for the soldiers.

A.D. 217

The barbarians, now, saw what sort of person he was and also heard that his troops, though numerous, had, in consequence of their previous luxury (among other things they had been passing the winter in houses and using up everything belonging to their hosts as if it were their own) and of their toils and present hardships, become so exhausted in body and so dejected in mind that they no longer cared at all about the largesses which they were constantly receiving in large amounts from Antoninus. Elated, therefore, to think that they were going to

[1] Perhaps the reference is to a linen breastplate, such as is mentioned in lxxvii (lxxviii). 7, 2.

[2] *Caracalla* was a Celtic or German word for a short, close-fitting cloak provided with a hood; but as modified by Antoninus it reached to the feet.

οὐ πολεμίους ἕξοντες, κ . . . . μά-
4 ζοντος . . . . . . Ἀντωνῖνος ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο· οὐ μέντοι καὶ πολεμῆσαι αὐτῷ ἐξεγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσοις τοῖς στρατιώταις, οὓς μάλιστα ἐτίμα καὶ οἷς ἰσχυρῶς ἐθάρρει, κατεσφάγη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ μάντις τις ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ εἶπεν, ὥστε καὶ δημοσιευθῆναι, ὅτι καὶ τὸν Μακρῖνον τὸν ἔπαρχον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Διαδουμενιανὸν[1]
2 αὐταρχῆσαι δεῖ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνός τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναπεμφθεὶς Φλαουίῳ Ματερνιανῷ τῷ τότε τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντι ἐξέφηνε, καὶ ὃς τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ παραχρῆμα ἐπέστειλεν, καὶ συνέβη ταῦτα μὲν τὰ γράμματα ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἰουλίαν
3 παραπεμφθῆναι, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεκέλευστο αὐτὴ πάντα τὰ ἀφικνούμενα διαλέγειν ἵνα μὴ μάτην οἱ ὄχλος γραμμάτων ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ὄντι πέμπηται, ἕτερα δὲ ὑπὸ Οὐλπίου Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ τότε τὰς τιμήσεις ἐγκεχειρισμένου δι' ἄλλων γραμματοφόρων ὀρθὴν πρὸς τὸν Μακρῖνον, δηλοῦντα τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀφικέσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πρὸς τὸν
4 αὐτοκράτορα γραφεῖσι διατριβὴν γενέσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνῳ ἐπισταλέντα φθῆναι ἀναγνωσθέντα αὐτῷ, ἐφοβήθη τε ὁ Μακρῖνος μὴ καὶ διαφθαρῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διά τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι Σεραπίων τις Αἰγύπτιος ἄντικρυς τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν εἰρήκει ὅτι τε ὀλιγοχρόνιος ἔσοιτο καὶ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος
5 αὐτὸν διαδέξοιτο, καὶ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Σεραπίων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λέοντι παρεβλήθη, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐχ ἥψατο αὐτοῦ τὴν χεῖρα μόνον, ὥς φασι, προτείναντος, ἐφονεύθη, δυνηθεὶς

[1] Διαδουμενιανὸν Falc., Δουμενιανὸν Xiph. (and V?)

find them helpers rather than foes . . . . A.D. 217
. . . . Antoninus made preparations in his turn; but it did not fall to his lot to carry on the war, for he was murdered in the midst of his soldiers, whom he most honoured and in whom he reposed vast confidence. It seems that a seer in Africa had declared, in such a manner that it became noised abroad, that both Macrinus, the prefect, and his son, Diadumenianus, were destined to hold the imperial power; and later this seer, upon being sent to Rome, had revealed this prophecy to Flavius Maternianus, who at the time commanded the soldiers in the city, and this man had at once written a letter to Antoninus. But it happened that this letter was diverted to Antioch to the emperor's mother Julia, since she had been instructed to sort everything that arrived and thus prevent a mass of unimportant letters from being sent to him while he was in the enemy's country; whereas another letter, written by Ulpius Julianus, who was then in charge of the census, went by other couriers direct to Macrinus, informing him of the state of affairs. Thus the message to the emperor was delayed, while the despatch to Macrinus was read by him in good season. And so Macrinus, fearing he should be put to death by Antoninus on this account, especially as a certain Egyptian, Serapio, had told the emperor to his face a few days earlier that he would be short-lived and that Macrinus would succeed him, delayed no longer. Serapio had at first been thrown to a lion for this, but when, as the result of his merely holding out his hand, as is reported, the animal did not touch him, he was slain; and he might have escaped even

ἄν, ὥς γε ἔφη, μηδὲ τοῦτο παθεῖν δαιμόνων τινῶν ἐπικλήσει, εἰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπεβεβιώκει.

5 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Μακρῖνος ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, ἔσπευσε δ' ὑποπτεύσας ἀπολεῖσθαι, ἄλλως τε ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτοῦ τοὺς συνόντας ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἐξαίφνης, ...[1] τῶν γενεθλίων αὐτοῦ, ἄλλον κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν, ὡς καὶ τιμῶν, ἀπέωστο.
2 . . . . ταλα | . . . . τησ | . . . . ιτησ | . . . . ου | . . . . πεπρωμένον αὐτῷ λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν, καὶ τὸ παρωνύμιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου ἐπεποίητο. κἀκ τούτου δύο τε χιλιάρχους τῶν ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ τεταγμένων, Νεμεσιανόν τε καὶ Ἀπολλινάριον
3 ἀδελφοὺς Αὐρηλίους, καὶ Ἰούλιον Μαρτιάλιον ἔν τε τοῖς ἀνακλήτοις στρατευόμενον καὶ ὀργὴν οἰκείαν τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ ἔχοντα ὅτι οἱ ἑκατονταρχίαν αἰτήσαντι οὐκ ἐδεδώκει, παρασκευάσας ἐπε-
4 βούλευσεν αὐτῷ. ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε. τῇ ὀγδόῃ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου ἐξορμήσαντά τε αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἐδέσσης ἐς Κάρρας, καὶ κατελθόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ὅπως ἀποπατήσει, προσελθὼν ὁ Μαρτιάλιος ὥς γε εἰπεῖν τι δεόμενος ἐπάταξε ξιφιδίῳ μικρῷ. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπέφυγε, καὶ διέλαθεν ἂν εἰ
5 τὸ ξίφος ἀπερρίφει· νῦν δὲ γνωρισθεὶς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπό τινος τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν σὺν Ἀντωνίνῳ ὄντων κατηκοντίσθη· ἐκεῖνον δὲ . . οἱ χιλίαρχοι ὡς

[1] πρὸ μιᾶς suggested by Bk. to fill lacuna.

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[1] Probably an explanation of the name Diadumenus, later changed to Diadumenianus ; compare *diadema*.

this fate,—or so he declared,—by invoking certain A.D. 217 spirits, if he had lived one day longer.

Macrinus came to no harm, but hastened his preparations, having a presentiment that otherwise he should perish, especially as Antoninus had suddenly, [on the day before] his birthday, removed those of Macrinus' companions that were with him, alleging various reasons in different cases, but with the general pretext of showing them honour, . . .

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believing that it was fated for him to secure [the throne?], he had also chosen a name suggestive of this.[1] Accordingly, he secured the services of two tribunes assigned to the pretorian guard, Nemesianus and Apollinaris,[2] brothers belonging to the Aurelian gens, and of Julius Martialis,[2] who was enrolled among the *evocati* and had a private grudge against Antoninus for not having given him the post of centurion when he asked for it, and so formed his plot against Antoninus. It was carried out thus. On the eighth of April, when the emperor had set out from Edessa for Carrhae and had dismounted from his horse to ease himself, Martialis approached as though desiring to say something to him and struck him with a small dagger. Martialis immediately fled and would have escaped detection, had he thrown away his sword; but, as it was, the weapon led to his being recognized by one of the Scythians in attendance upon Antoninus, and he was struck down with a javelin. As for Antoninus, the

[2] Apollinarius and Martialius in the Greek.

καὶ βοηθοῦντες κατέσφαξαν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Σκύθης οὗτος οὐχ ὡς καὶ συμμαχῶν αὐτῷ μόνον, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ φρουρὰν αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ ἔχων συνῆν. 6 καὶ γὰρ Σκύθας καὶ Κελτούς, οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλους, καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀφελόμενος, ὥπλίκει καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν, ὡς καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῖς[1] στρατιώταις θαρσῶν· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἑκατονταρχίαις σφᾶς ἐτίμα, 2 λέοντάς τε ἐκάλει. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς οἱ[2] ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν αὐτῶν πεμπομένοις καὶ διελέγετο[3] πολλάκις μηδενὸς ἄλλου πλὴν τῶν ἑρμηνέων παρόντος, καὶ ἐνετέλλετο ὅπως, ἄν τι πάθῃ, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐσβάλωσι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνωσιν ὡς καὶ εὐαλωτοτάτην οὖσαν· καὶ ἵνα δὴ[4] μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς ἐκφοιτήσῃ, 3 τοὺς ἑρμηνέας εὐθὺς ἐφόνευεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτό τε[5] ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν βαρβάρων ὕστερον ἐμάθομεν, καὶ τὸ τῶν φαρμάκων παρὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ποικίλα παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἄνω Ἀσίᾳ ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν μετεπέμψατο τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπρίατο, ὥστε ἑπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα μυριάδας ἐς αὐτὰ[6] ἀριθμηθῆναι, ἵνα καὶ παμπόλλους, ὅσους ἂν ἐθελήσῃ,[7] καὶ διαφόρως 4 δολοφονήσῃ. καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ μετὰ ταῦθ' εὑρεθέντα κατεκαύθη· τότε δὲ[8] οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις

[1] τοῖς supplied by Bk.
[2] οἱ Bs., ΩΝ V.
[3] διελέγετο Urs., ΕΛΕΓΕΤΟ V.
[4] δὴ Bk., ΤΕ V.
[5] τε Bk., ΜΕΝ V.
[6] αὐτὰ Xiph., ΑΥΤΗΝ V.
[7] ἐθελήσῃ Xiph., ΘΕΛΗΣΗ V.

tribunes, pretending to come to his rescue, slew him. A.D. 217 The Scythian mentioned was in attendance upon Antoninus, not merely as an ally, but also as a kind of body-guard. For the emperor kept Scythians and Germans about him, freemen and slaves alike, whom he had taken away from their masters and wives and had armed, apparently placing more confidence in them than in the soldiers; and among various honours that he showed them he made them centurions, and called them "lions." Furthermore, he would often converse with the envoys sent to him from time to time by the nations to which these soldiers belonged, when no one else but the interpreters was present, instructing them, in case anything happened to him, to invade Italy and march upon Rome, assuring them that it was very easy to capture; and to prevent any inkling of his conversation from getting to our ears, he would immediately put to death the interpreters. Nevertheless, we learned of it later from the barbarians themselves; and as for the poisons, we learned of them from Macrinus. It seems that Antoninus had been in the habit of requisitioning or even buying great quantities of various poisons from the inhabitants of Upper Asia, spending thirty million sesterces all told upon them, in order that he might secretly kill in different ways great numbers of men, in fact all that he wished; these poisons were later discovered in the royal apartments and were all burned. At the time, however, with which we are concerned the soldiers, both for this reason and also because, in addition to other grievances, they were

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[6] δὲ Leuncl., ΔΗ V.

τῷ τοὺς βαρβάρους σφῶν προτιμᾶσθαι δυσχεραίνοντες, οὔτ' ἄλλως ἔτι ὁμοίως ἔχαιρον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιβουλευθέντι οὐκ ἐβοήθησαν.

5 Τοιούτῳ[1] μὲν τέλει ἐχρήσατο βιούς τε ἔτη ἐννέα καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἡμέρας τέσσαρας (τῇ γὰρ τετράδι τοῦ Ἀπριλίου ἐγεγέννητο) καὶ αὐταρχήσας ἔτη[2] ἓξ καὶ μῆνας δύο καὶ ἡμέρας δύο. καί μοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου θαυμάσαι πάμπολλα ἐπέρχεται. ὅ τε γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ μέλλοντί οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας τὴν τελευταίαν ἔξοδον ποιήσασθαι ξιφήρης ὄναρ ἐπέστη, λέγων ὅτι "ὡς σὺ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινας, καὶ ἐγὼ σὲ ἀποσφάξω·" 2 καὶ οἱ μάντεις εἶπον αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην φυλάσσεσθαι, τούτῳ τῷ ῥήματι ἄντικρυς χρησάμενοι, ὅτι "αἱ τοῦ ἥπατος τοῦ ἱερείου πύλαι κέκλεινται." ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ διὰ θύρας τινὸς ἐξῆλθε, μηδὲν μηδὲ τοῦ λέοντος, ὃν καὶ Ἀκινάκην ὠνόμαζε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζον ὁμόκλινόν τε ἐποιεῖτο, φροντίσας, ὅτι καὶ ἐκράτησεν αὐτὸν ἐξιόντα καὶ 3 τὴν ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ προσκατέρρηξεν· ἔτρεφε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλους λέοντας πολλούς, καὶ ἀεί τινας περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις κατεφίλει. ταῦτά τε οὖν οὕτως ἔσχε, καὶ ὀλίγον πρὸ[3] τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ ἔν τε τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πῦρ ἐξαίφνης πολύ, ὥς γε καὶ ἤκουσα, πάντα τὸν τοῦ Σαράπιδος ναὸν ἔνδοθεν κατασχὸν 4 ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν[4] ἐλυμήνατο, τὸ δὲ δὴ ξίφος ἐκεῖνο ᾧ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπεσφάκει μόνον ἔφθειρεν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παυσαμένου αὐτοῦ ἀστέρες πολλοὶ ἐφάνησαν· καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δαίμων τις ἀνθρώπου σχῆμα ἔχων ὄνον ἔς τε τὸ

[1] τοιούτῳ Urs., ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩΝ V.

vexed at seeing the barbarians preferred to themselves, were not in any case so delighted with their emperor as formerly, and did not aid him when he became the victim of a plot. A.D. 217

Such was the end to which Antoninus came, after living twenty-nine years and four days (for he had been born on the fourth of April), and after ruling six years, two months, and two days. At this point also in my narrative many things come to mind to arouse my astonishment. For instance, when he was about to set out from Antioch on his last journey, his father appeared to him in a dream, wearing a sword and saying, "As you killed your brother, so will I slay you"; and the soothsayers warned him to beware of that day, bluntly telling him in so many words that the gates of the victim's liver were shut. After this he went out through a certain door, paying no heed to the fact that the lion which he was wont to call "Rapier" and had for a table-companion and bedfellow seized him as he went out and even tore his clothing. For he used to keep many lions and always had some of them around him, but this one he would often caress even in public. Besides these prodigies, a little while before his death a great fire, as I have heard, suddenly filled the entire interior of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria, but did no damage beyond destroying the sword with which Antoninus had slain his brother; and later, when the fire had stopped, many stars became visible. In Rome, moreover, a spirit having the appearance of a man

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[2] ἔτη Xiph., ETHTE V.
[3] πρό Xiph., ΠΡΟΣ V.
[4] τὸ παράπαν Urs., ΤΟΠΑΡΑ V, om. Xiph.

Καπιτώλιον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς[1] τὸ παλάτιον ἀνήγαγεν, ζητῶν τὸν δεσπότην αὐτοῦ, ὥς γε καὶ ἔφασκεν, καὶ λέγων ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀπολωλέναι τὸν
5 δὲ Δία ἄρχειν. συλληφθείς τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ματερνιανοῦ πεμφθείς "ἀπέρχομαι μέν" ἔφη "ὡς κελεύεις,[2] ἀφίξομαι δὲ οὐ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἕτερον," καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν Καπύην
8 ἐλθὼν ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο. τοῦτο μὲν ζῶντος ἔτι αὐτοῦ συνηνέχθη, τῇ δὲ ἱπποδρομίᾳ τῇ τῆς τοῦ[3] Σεουήρου ἀρχῆς ἕνεκα ποιουμένῃ κατέπεσε μὲν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἄγαλμα[4] πομπεῦον, ἀλλὰ
2 τοῦτο μὲν ἧττον ἄν τις θαυμάσειε· τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον, ἡττημένοι οἱ πράσινοι στασιῶται,[5] ἔπειτα κολοιὸν ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ ὀβελίσκου πάνυ σφόδρα κρώζοντα ἰδόντες πάντες τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέβλεψαν, καὶ πάντες ἐξαίφνης ὡς καὶ ἐκ συγκειμένου τινὸς ἀνεβόησαν "Μαρτιάλιε, χαῖρε· Μαρτιάλιε, διὰ χρόνου σε ἑοράκαμεν," οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ὁ κολοιός ποτε οὕτως ὠνομάσθη, ἀλλ' ὅτι δι' ἐκείνου τὸν Μαρτιάλιον τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου φονέα
3 ὡς καὶ ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας τινὸς θείας ἠσπάσαντο. ἤδη δέ τισι καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος τὴν τελευτὴν προδηλῶσαι ἔδοξεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ἣν τελευταίαν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἔπεμψεν ἔφη ὅτι "παύσασθε εὐχόμενοί με ἑκατὸν ἔτεσι μοναρχῆσαι·" τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβόημα τοῦτο ἀεὶ καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ ἐγίνετο, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τότε πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ᾐτιάσατο αὐτό, λόγῳ μὲν ἐγκαλῶν σφίσιν

[1] ἐς Rk., ΕΣΤΕ V.
[2] κελεύεις Urs., ΚΕΛΕΥΣΘΕΙΣ V.
[3] τῇ τῆς τοῦ Bk., ΤΗΙΤΟΥ V, ΤΗΣΤΟΥ V², τῇ τῆς Rk.

led an ass up to the Capitol and afterwards to the palace, seeking its master, as he claimed, and stating that Antoninus was dead and Jupiter was now emperor. Upon being arrested for this and sent by Maternianus to Antoninus, he said: "I go, as you bid; but I shall face, not this emperor, but another." And when he reached Capua a little later, he vanished. This took place while Antoninus was still alive; and at the horse-race held in honour of Severus' reign the statue of Mars, while being borne in the procession, fell down. This perhaps would not cause so much astonishment; but now comes the greatest marvel of all. The Green faction had been defeated, whereupon, catching sight of a jackdaw, which was cawing very loudly on the top of the obelisk, they all looked toward him and suddenly, as if by pre-arrangement, all cried out: "Martialis, hail! Martialis, it is a long time since we saw you last." It was not that the jackdaw was ever thus called, but that through him they were greeting, apparently under some divine inspiration, Martialis, the slayer of Antoninus. There were, indeed, some who thought that Antoninus had foretold his own end, inasmuch as in the last letter that he sent to the senate he had said: "Cease praying that I may be emperor a hundred years"; for from the beginning of his rule this wish had always been expressed as an acclamation, and this was the first and only time that he had found fault with it. Thus, while his words were simply meant

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[4] After ἄγαλμα two columns are lost in V; the greater part of the missing text is preserved by Xiph. (§§ 2–6)

[5] στασιῶται Leuncl., στρατιῶται VC.

ὡς καὶ ἀδύνατα εὐχομένοις, ἔργῳ δὲ προδηλῶν
4 ὅτι οὐκέτ' οὐδένα χρόνον ἄρξει. καὶ ἐπειδή γε ἅπαξ τοῦτό τινες ἐπεσημήναντο, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐνθύμιον ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ τοῖς Κρονίοις ἑστιῶν ἡμᾶς καὶ πολλὰ ἄττα, οἷα ἐν συμποσίῳ εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰπών, ἔπειτ' ἐξανισταμένων ἡμῶν προσκαλεσάμενος ἐμὲ[1] ἔφη· "κάλλιστα, ὦ Δίων, καὶ ἀληθέστατα ὁ Εὐριπίδης εἴρηκεν[2] ὅτι

> πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων,
> πολλὰ δ' ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεοί,
> καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ' οὐκ ἐτελέσθη,
> τῶν δ' ἀδοκήτων πόρον εὗρε θεός.
> τοιόνδ' ἀπέβη τόδε[3] πρᾶγμα."

5 παραχρῆμα μὲν γὰρ ἄλλως ἀπολεληρηκέναι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἔδοξεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπώλετο καὶ τελευταίαν ταύτην φωνὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔρρηξε, καὶ πάνυ κεχρησμῳδηκέναι τρόπον τινὰ τὰ συμβησόμενα αὐτῷ ἐνομίσθη, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Βῆλος ὀνομαζόμενος καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀπαμείᾳ τῆς
6 Συρίας τιμώμενος· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τῷ Σεουήρῳ πρότερον ἰδιωτεύοντί τε[4] ἔτι τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα εἰρήκει,

> "ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἴκελος[5] Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ,
> Ἄρεϊ δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον[6] δὲ Ποσειδάωνι,"

[1] ἐμέ supplied by Reim. [2] εἴρηκεν Dind., εἰρήκει VC.
[3] τόδε Leuncl., τό VC. [4] τε supplied by Bekker.
[5] ἴκελος R. Steph., εἴκελος VC.
[6] στέρνον R. Steph., στέρνα VC.

[1] Lines that occur at the end of several of Euripides' dramas.

to rebuke them for offering a prayer impossible of fulfilment, he was really predicting that he should not rule any longer at all. And when certain persons had once called attention to this fact, I also recalled that when he was giving us a banquet in Nicomedeia at the Saturnalia and had talked a good deal, as was natural at a symposium, he had called to me, as we rose to depart, and remarked: "Well and truly, Dio, has Euripides said:

> 'O the works of the gods—in manifold wise they reveal them:
> Manifold things unhoped for the gods to accomplishment bring.
> And the things that we looked for, the gods deign not to fulfil them;
> And the paths undiscerned of our eyes, the gods unseal them,
> So fell this marvellous thing.'" [1]

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At the time these verses seemed to have been quoted with no particular meaning, but when he perished not long afterward and these words proved to be the last he ever uttered to me, it was felt that he had foretold in a truly oracular manner what was to befall him. Similar importance was attached to the utterance of Zeus called Belus, a god worshipped at Apamea in Syria; for this god, years before, while Severus was still a private citizen, had spoken these words to him:

> "Eyes and head like those of Zeus, who delights in the thunder,
> Slender his waist like Ares, his chest like that of Poseidon." [2]

[2] Hom., *Il.* ii. 478–9.

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορι γενομένῳ ταῦτ' εἶπεν χρωμένῳ, ὅτι

"σὸς δ' οἶκος πᾶς βήσεται δι' αἵματος."

9 Τοῦ δ' οὖν Ἀντωνίνου τό τε σῶμα ἐκαύθη, καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ ἐν τῷ Ἀντωνινείῳ,[1] κρύφα νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κομισθέντα, ἐτέθη· πάνυ γὰρ πάντες οἱ βουλευταὶ καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται, καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, ἰσχυρότατα αὐτὸν ἐμίσησαν, ὥστε καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν πάντ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ πολεμιωτάτῳ. 2 δόγματι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἠτιμώθη διὰ τὸ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης, ἧς ἀντήλπισαν παρὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου λήψεσθαι, μὴ τυχεῖν, τῶν δὲ δὴ κερδῶν, ὧν παρ' ἐκείνου ἐλάμβανον, στερομένους πάλιν αὐτὸν ποθῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἥρωας μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐκνικησάντων αὐτῶν ἐσεγράφη, καὶ 3 τοῦτο καὶ τῇ βουλῇ δῆλον ὅτι ἐψηφίσθη. ἄλλως δὲ[2] πολλὰ καὶ κακὰ ὑπὸ πάντων ἤκουεν ἀεί· οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀντωνῖνον ἔτ' αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν,[3] ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Βασσιανὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα, οἱ δὲ Καράκαλλον, ὥσπερ εἶπον, οἱ δὲ καὶ Ταραύταν ἐκ μονομάχου τινὸς προσηγορίας[4] τό τ' εἶδος καὶ σμικροτάτου καὶ κακοειδεστάτου καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ θρασυτάτου καὶ μιαιφονωτάτου.

10 Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκείνου, ὅπως ποτ' ἂν καὶ ὀνομάσῃ τις αὐτόν, οὕτως ἔσχεν· ἐμοὶ δὲ δή, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν μοναρχίαν καταστῆναι, προεδηλώθη τρόπον τινὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα

[1] Ἀντωνινείῳ Urs., ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΩ V.

[2] δέ Bk., ΤΕ V.

[3] ἔτ' αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν Xiph., ΕΑΥΤΟΝΕΠΕΚΑΛΟΥ V (first Ε deleted by V²).

[4] προσηγορίας Urs., ΠΡΟΣΗΓΟΡΙΑΙΣ V.

And later, when he had become emperor and again consulted this oracle, the god gave him this response: A.D. 217

"Thy house shall perish utterly in blood." [1]

The body of Antoninus was burned and his bones were deposited in the tomb of the Antonines, after being brought into Rome secretly at night; for absolutely everybody, both senators and the rest of the population, men and women alike, hated him most violently, so that they treated him like the bitterest foe in all that they said and did in relation to him. No decree, indeed, was passed dishonouring him, inasmuch as the soldiers failed to obtain from Macrinus the peace that they hoped to get from a new emperor and also because they were deprived of the rewards which they had been wont to receive from Antoninus, so that they began to long for him again; indeed, their wishes so far prevailed later that he was actually enrolled among the demigods, the senate, of course, passing the decree. But in general, much evil was continually spoken of him by everybody; in fact, people no longer called him Antoninus, but some called him Bassianus, his original name, others Caracallus, as I have stated,[2] and yet others Tarautas, from the nickname of a gladiator who was most insignificant and ugly in appearance and most reckless and bloodthirsty in spirit.

Such, then, is the story of this man, by whatever name he be called. As for me, even before he came to the throne, it was foretold to me in a way by his father that I should write of these events also. For

[1] Eur., *Phoen.* 20, carelessly quoted.
[2] In ch. 3.

γράψοιμι. ἐν γὰρ πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ τινὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων *δύναμιν ἐξωπλισμένην ὁρᾶν τεθνηκότος αὐτοῦ ἤδη ἔδοξα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸν Σεουῆρον ἐπί τε γηλόφου καὶ ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ καθήμενον διαλέγεσθαί τι αὐτοῖς.* 2 *καί με προσστάντα*[1] *ἰδὼν ὅπως τῶν λεγομένων ἀκούσω, "δεῦρο," ἔφη, "Δίων, ἐνταῦθα πλησίον πρόσελθε, ἵνα πάντα καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ μάθῃς ἀκριβῶς καὶ συγγράψῃς."* 3 *τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ τοῦ* Ταραύτου *καὶ βίος καὶ ὄλεθρος ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπαπώλοντο μὲν καὶ οἱ τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλῆς μετασχόντες, οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς οἱ δ' οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, προσδιεφθάρησαν δὲ οἱ πάνυ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ* Καισάρειοι· *οὕτω που φονικῷ δαίμονι καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους συνεκεκλήρωτο.*

11 Ὁ *δὲ δὴ* Μακρῖνος *τὸ μὲν γένος* Μαῦρος, *ἀπὸ* Καισαρείας, *γονέων ἀδοξοτάτων ἦν, ὥστε καὶ σφόδρα εἰκότως αὐτὸν τῷ ὄνῳ τῷ*[2] *ἐς τὸ παλάτιον ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐσαχθέντι εἰκασθῆναι· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τὸ οὖς τὸ ἕτερον κατὰ τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν* 2 Μαύρων *ἐπιχώριον διετέτρητο· τῇ δὲ ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ ἐκεῖνο συνεσκίαζεν, τά τε νόμιμα οὐχ οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ἠπίστατο ὡς πιστῶς μετεχειρίζετο. κἀκ τούτου καὶ*[3] *τῷ* Πλαυτιανῷ *διὰ φίλου τινὸς συνηγόρημα γνωρισθεὶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἐκείνου χρημάτων ἐπετρόπευσεν, ἔπειτα συναπολέσθαι οἱ κινδυνεύσας, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ὑπὸ τοῦ* Κίλωνος *ἐξαιτησαμένου αὐτὸν* 3 *σωθείς, πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Σεουήρου τοῖς ὀχήμασι τοῖς*

T

[1] *προσστάντα* Falc., ΠΡΟΣΠΑΝΤΑ V (T by V²), *προστάντα* Xiph.

just after his death methought I saw in a great plain the whole power of the Romans arrayed in arms, and it seemed that Severus was seated on a knoll there, on a lofty tribunal, and conversing with them; and seeing me standing near to hear what was spoken, he said: "Come here, Dio; draw near, that you may both learn accurately and write an account of all that is said and done." Such was the life and the end of Tarautas. His death was followed by that of those who had taken part in the plot against him, some of whom perished at once and others a little later; and his intimate friends and freedmen also perished. Thus it would appear that it was his doom to bring a bloody fate upon his enemies and his friends alike. A.D. 217

Macrinus was a Moor by birth, from Caesarea, and the son of most obscure parents, so that he was very appropriately likened to the ass that was led up to the palace by the spirit;[1] in particular, one of his ears had been bored in accordance with the custom followed by most of the Moors. But his integrity threw even this drawback into the shade. As for his attitude toward law and precedent, his knowledge of them was not so accurate as his observance of them was faithful. It was thanks to this latter quality, as displayed in his advocacy of a friend's cause, that he had become known to Plautianus, whose steward he then became for a time. Later he came near perishing with his patron, but was unexpectedly saved by the intercession of Cilo, and was appointed

[1] Cf. ch. 7.

[2] τῷ supplied by Sauppe.
[3] καί Rk., TEKAI V.

κατὰ τὴν Φλαμινίαν ὁδὸν διαθέουσιν ἐπετάχθη, πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ὀνόματά τινα ἐπιτροπείας ὀλιγοχρονίου λαβὼν ἔπαρχος ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ διῴκησε τὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ταύτης ἄριστα καὶ δικαιότατα, ὅσα γε[1] καὶ αὐτογνωμονήσας ἔπραξεν.

4 Τοιοῦτος δή τις ὢν καὶ οὕτως αὐξηθεὶς ἔς τε τὸν νοῦν τὴν τῆς αὐταρχίας ἐλπίδα ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Ταραύτου, δι' ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐνεβάλετο, καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ φανερῶς μὲν οὔτε ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὔτε ταῖς ἔπειτα ταῖς δύο ἐπεβάτευσεν αὐτῆς, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ἀπεκτονέναι δόξῃ, ἀλλὰ ἄναρκτα παντελῶς τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἀπ' αὐτοτελοῦς ἄρχοντος τὰ των Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, οὐδ'[2] εἰδότων αὐτῶν τοῦτο, διεγένετο· 5 πέμψας δὲ ὡς ἑκασταχόσε πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐν μὲν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ μέντοι καθ' ἓν ὄντας ἀλλ' ἄλλους ἄλλῃ διεσπασμένους, προσηταιρίσατο αὐτοὺς διὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οἵ τά τε ἄλλα ἐπαγγειλάμενος καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, ᾧ μάλιστα ἐβαρύνοντο, ἀπαλλάξειν 6 ἐπελπίσας. καὶ οὕτω τῇ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ᾗ τὰ τοῦ Σεουήρου γενέθλια ἦν, αὐτοκράτωρ τε ὑπ' 12 αὐτῶν ὡς καὶ καταβιασθεὶς ᾑρέθη, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ χρηστὰ ἐκείνοις ἐδημηγόρησε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπετείνατο, τούς τε ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ τινί, οἵα γε ἡ ἀσέβεια αὕτη ἡ ἐς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας λέγεται γίγνεσθαι, τιμωρίαν

[1] γε Val., ΤΕ V cod. Peir.
[2] οὐδ' Falc., ΟΥΤ V.

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[1] *Curator viae Flaminiae.* [2] *Praefectus praetorio.*

by Severus as superintendent of traffic along the Flaminian Way.[1] From Antoninus he first received some brief appointments as procurator, then was made prefect,[2] and discharged the duties of this office in a most satisfactory and just manner, in so far as he was free to follow his own judgment. A.D. 217

Such then was the general character and such were the steps in the advancement of this man, who, even while Tarautas was still living, conceived in his mind, for the reason I have given,[3] the hope of becoming emperor. Nevertheless, after the death of Tarautas, he did not, either on that day or during the two following days, openly enter upon the office, lest he should appear to have killed him on that account; but for that space of time the Roman State was entirely without a supreme ruler, though people did not know it. He did, however, communicate with the soldiers on every side, that is to say, with those who were in Mesopotamia by reason of the war, but were nevertheless scattered in various places instead of being together in one body; and he gained their allegiance, with the help of his friends, by making them various promises and in particular by encouraging them to hope for a cessation of the war, which was especially burdensome to them. And so on the fourth day, which was Severus' birthday, he was chosen emperor by them, after he had made a show of resistance. He delivered to them a long and excellent address and held out hopes of many advantages to the rest of mankind. Those who had been sentenced to some life punishment or other for an act of "impiety" (I mean the "impiety," as it is called, that has reference to the person of the

[3] In ch. 4.

τινὰ ἔμβιον ὠφληκότας ἀπαλλάξας τῆς καταδίκης, καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαλουμένους τι τοιοῦτον ἀπο-
2 λύσας, τά τε περὶ τοὺς κλήρους καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐλευθερίας καταδειχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καρακάλλου παύσας, καὶ τὸν Αὐρηλιανὸν ἐξαιτηθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἷα ἀπεχθέστατον σφίσιν ἐν πολλαῖς στρατείαις[1] ταῖς πρόσθε γεγονότα παραιτησάμενος ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ὂν βουλευτήν τινα ἀπο-
3 κτεῖναι. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐξεγένετο αὐτῷ ἀνδραγαθίσασθαι . . . . . | τε Αὐρηλιαν . . . . | νησανταα . . . . | σαι τι ἐπιχ . . . . | στρατιώτα . . . . | αμα τοῦτο . . . . | ὑπ' αὐτοῦ το . . . . | καὶ ἀναλοι . . . . | δε βουλευσ . . . . | αὔταρχόν γ . . . . | ὀργῇ τε ο . . . . | σι καὶ
4 διακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς . . . . . | πλεῖόν τι δοῦναι κατεδέδεικτο τ . . . . | φοβηθεὶς . . . . | τὸν Αὐρηλιανὸν τὸν καὶ μόνον οὐχ ὅπως τῶν ὑπατευκότων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὅλως βουλευόντων τότε παρόντα ἀπ . . . . | ὑπὸ χρημάτων . . . . . . ἐς | αὐτὸν τηνι . . . . | αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Καρακάλλου . . . . | τρέψας τὸ δ . . . . | καὶ περὶ το . . . . | τας τι επο . . . . | σας παρα . . . .
5 . . . . | τονως . . . . | σφῶν . . . . | τα ω . . . . | του . . . . | προ . . . . ‖ . . . . πάμ-

[1] στρατείαις Bk., ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΙΣ V.

emperor[1]) had their sentences remitted, and complaints of that nature which were pending were dismissed; he also rescinded the measures that had been enacted by Caracallus relating to inheritances and emancipations.[2] Furthermore, by insisting that it was impious to put a senator to death, he succeeded in begging off Aurelianus, whose surrender was demanded by the soldiers because he had become most obnoxious to them in the course of many previous campaigns. Not for long, however, was it in his power to play the part of a brave man . . . . . . and Aurelianus . . . . soldiers . . . . this . . . . by him . . . . and . . . . plan . . . . absolute . . . . and in wrath . . . . and one thousand sesterces . . . . to give more . . . . fearing . . . . Aurelianus, the only one then present not only of the ex-consuls but even of all who were then senators . . . . by money . . . . to him . . . . blame for Caracallus' death . . . . turning . . . . and about . . . . great

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[1] *Maiestas*. See on lvii. 9, 2.
[2] Cf. lxxvii (lxxviii). 9, 4.

πολλα καὶ ἔπιπλα καὶ κτήματα τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων. ὡς δ' οὐδὲ ταῦτα διὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξήρκει ταῖς ἐν | . . . . ιακων προσ | . . . . ξατο καὶ μεν | . . . . ν βουλευτῶν | . . . . ν ἀποκτει | . . . . μηδένα ἀλλ' ἐς φυλακήν τινας ἐμβαλὼν |
6 . . . . φον τὸν ευ | . . . . αι τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ τῶν Καισαρείων καὶ | . . . . ικῶν τῶν τε | . . . . . . τοὺς καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἁμαρτάνοντας κολασθῆναι ποιήσας ὥστε πᾶσι | . . . . νον αὐτῶν | . . . . τάς τε ἐπιτροπείας . . . τὰς περιττὰς . . . . τὰ πολλὰ τῶν . . . . τοῦ Ταραύτου . . . .
7 . . αχθέντων | . . . . . . το τῶν ἀγώνων | . . . . ων πλῆθος ην | . . . . ς, τάς τε δωρεὰς αὖ ἃς μάτην τισὶν ἐδεδώρητο συλλέξας, καὶ μηδεμίαν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ μήτε ἀργυρᾶν ὑπὲρ πέντε λίτρας μήτε χρυσῆν ὑπὲρ τρεῖς γίγνεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν. τό τε μέγιστον, τὴν μισθοφορὰν τῶν ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ στρατευομένων . . . . ἐς τὸ ταχθὲν . . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου . . . . εθει . . . .

13 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπό τινων οὐ μάτην ἐπαινούμενος ἰσοστάσιόν πως αὐτοῖς αἰτίαμα παρὰ τῶν ἐμφρόνων ἔσχεν, ὅτι ἔς τε τοὺς ὑπατευκότας τινὰς ἐνέγραψε καὶ εὐθὺς ἀρχαῖς ἐθνῶν προσέταξεν, καίτοι μὴ ἐθελήσας[1] δεύτερον δὴ τῷ ἐπιόντι ἔτει[2] ὑπατεύειν δόξαι ὅτι τὰς[3] τῶν ὑπα-

[1] ἐθελήσας Bk., ΘΕΛΗΣΑΣ V.
[2] ἔτει Reim., ΕΤΙ V.
[3] τάς supplied by Bk.

quantities of furniture and other possessions of the emperors. But as not even this on account of the soldiers sufficed for the . . . .
. . . .
. . . . of senators . . . . kill no one, but putting some under guard . . . .
. . . .
of the knights and the freedmen, including the imperial freedmen, and . . . . causing those who erred in even the slightest respect to be punished, so that to all . . . . of them . . . . both the procuratorships . . . . the excessive . . . . . [and] the larger part of the . . . . Tarautas . . . . of the games . . . . multitude . . . . and, further, collecting the presents which had been bestowed upon various persons without good reason, and he forbade any silver image of himself to be made weighing more than five pounds or any gold image of more than three pounds. Most important of all, [he fixed] the pay of those serving in the pretorian guard . . at the amount established . . . by Severus.

Nevertheless, though he was praised by some for this, and not without reason, yet he incurred on the part of sensible people a censure that fairly counterbalanced it, because he gave some the rank of ex-consuls and immediately appointed them to the governorship of provinces; and yet he himself refused to have the name of being "consul for the second time" in the following year merely on the basis of

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τευκότων τιμὰς ἐσχήκοι, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεουήρου
2 ἀρξάμενον καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπεποιήκει. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ νομιμώτατα καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἀδουέντου πράξας, ἀλογώτατα Μάρκιόν τε Ἀγρίππαν πρότερον μὲν ἐς Παννονίαν εἶτ' ἐς Δακίαν ἡγεμονεύσοντα ἔπεμψεν· τοὺς γὰρ ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, τόν τε Σαβῖνον καὶ τὸν Καστῖνον, λόγῳ μὲν ὡς καὶ τῆς συνουσίας σφῶν δεόμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ τό τε πάνυ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καράκαλλον φοβηθείς, εὐθὺς
3 μετεπέμψατο. τόν τε οὖν Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν καὶ Δέκκιον Τρικκιανὸν ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν ἔστειλεν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν δοῦλόν τε κομμωτὴν γυναικός τινος γεγονότα, καὶ διά τε τοῦτο κριθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου, καίτοι καὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ συνδεδικη-
4 κότα, καὶ ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ πράγματός τινος ἐς νῆσον ἐκπεσόντα,[1] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταραύτου σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις καταχθέντα,[2] τάς τε διαγνώσεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς διοικήσαντα,[3] καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐς τοὺς βουλευτὰς τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας ἀπωσθέντα ὅτι μειράκια ἔξωρα ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆκτο, τὸν δὲ δὴ Τρικκιανὸν ἔν τε τῷ πλήθει τῷ Παννονικῷ ἐστρατευμένον[4] καὶ θυρωρόν ποτε τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῆς γεγονότα καὶ τότε τοῦ Ἀλβανίου στρατοπέδου ἄρχοντα.

14 Ταῦτά τε οὖν αὐτοῦ πολλοὶ ᾐτιῶντο, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὸν Ἄδουεντον ἐν τοῖς διόπταις τε καὶ ἐρευνηταῖς μεμισθοφορηκότα, καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τάξιν

[1] ἐκπεσόντα Bk., ΕΜΠΕΣΟΝΤΑ V.
[2] καταχθέντα Leuncl., ΚΑΤΑΛΕΧΘΕΝΤΑ V.
[3] διοικήσαντα Reim., ΔΙΟΙΚΗΣΟΝΤΑ V.

the consular rank that he already had—a practice A.D. 217 that had been begun by Severus and continued by his son. But, though his course was most regular in this matter, which affected both himself and Adventus, yet he acted most unreasonably in sending out Marcius Agrippa as governor, first to Pannonia, and then to Dacia. For he had at once summoned the governors of those provinces, Sabinus and Castinus, pretending that he wanted their company, but really because he feared their proud spirit and their friendship for Caracallus; and thus he sent Agrippa to Dacia and Deccius Triccianus to Pannonia. The former had been a slave acting as tireman for some woman and had stood trial before Severus for that very reason, though he had been counsel for the imperial treasury;[1] banished later to an island for the betrayal of some cause, he had subsequently been recalled, along with the others, by Tarautas, had had charge of his judicial decisions and correspondence, and finally had been relegated to the position of senator with the rank of ex-praetor, because he had admitted immature lads into the army. Triccianus had served as a private soldier in the contingent from Pannonia, had once been doorkeeper to the governor of that province, and was at this time commanding the Alban legion.

Another thing for which many criticized him was his elevation of Adventus. This man had first served in the mercenary force among the spies and scouts, and upon quitting that position had been made one

[1] *Advocatus fisci.*

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[4] ἐστρατευμένον Bk., ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΝ V.

λελοιπότα ἔς τε τοὺς γραμματοφόρους τελέσαντα καὶ πρόκριτον[1] ἀποδειχθέντα καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς[2] ἐπιτρόπευσιν προαχθέντα, καὶ βουλευτὴν καὶ συνύπατον καὶ πολίαρχον, μήθ' ὁρᾶν ὑπὸ γήρως μήτ' ἀναγιγνώσκειν ὑπ' ἀπαιδευσίας μήτε πράτ-
2 τειν τι ὑπ' ἀπειρίας δυνάμενον, ἀπέφηνεν. ἐτετολμήκει[3] μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἄδουεντος τοῖς στρατιώταις μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καρακάλλου θάνατον εἰπεῖν ὅτι "ἐμοὶ μὲν ἡ μοναρχία ἅτε καὶ πρεσβεύοντι τοῦ Μακρίνου προσήκει, ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπέργηρώς εἰμι, ἐκείνῳ αὐτῆς ἐξίσταμαι·" λῃρεῖν δέ πως ἔδοξεν, ὥσπερ που καὶ ὁ Μακρῖνος τὸ μέγιστον τῆς γερουσίας ἀξίωμα τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ δούς, ὅστις οὐδὲ διαλεχθῆναί τινι ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καλῶς ὑπατεύων ἠδυνήθη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν
3 ἡμέρᾳ νοσεῖν προσεποιήσατο. ὅθεν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τῷ Μαξίμῳ τῷ Μαρίῳ τὴν τῆς πόλεως προστασίαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ προσέταξε, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνον πολίαρχον αὐτὸν ποιήσας ἵνα μιάνῃ τὸ βουλευτήριον, οὐ κατ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον ὅτι ἐν τῷ μισθοφορικῷ ἐστράτευτο καὶ τὰ τῶν δημίων ἔργα καὶ προσκόπων καὶ ἑκατοντάρχων ἐπεποιήκει,
4 ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὴν πρὸ τοῦ τῆς ὑπατείας ἔργου εἰλήφει, τοῦτ' ἔστιν πολίαρχος πρότερον ἢ βουλευτὴς ἐγεγόνει. ταῦτα γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτόν, ὅτι τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἱππεύων ἔτι ἡρπάκει, ἐπηλυγασόμενος[4] ἔπραξεν.

[1] πρόκριτον Hirschfeld, ΠΡΟΚΟΙΤΟΝ V.
[2] ἐς Urs., om. V, ΕΙΣ V².
[3] ἐτετολμήκει Dind., ΤΕΤΟΛΜΗΣΕΙ V.
[4] ἐπηλυγασόμενος Rk., ΕΠΗΛΥΓΑΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ V.

of the couriers[1] and appointed their leader,[2] and still later had been advanced to a procuratorship; and now the emperor appointed him senator, fellow-consul, and prefect of the city, though he could neither see by reason of old age nor read for lack of education nor accomplish anything for want of experience. The reason for the advancement of Adventus was that he had made bold to say to the soldiers after the death of Caracallus: "The sovereignty belongs to me, since I am older than Macrinus; but since I am extremely old, I yield it to him." Yet it seemed that he must be jesting when he said this, and that Macrinus must be jesting, too, when he granted the highest dignity of the senate to such a man, who could not even carry on a respectable conversation when consul with anyone in the senate and who accordingly on the day of the elections feigned illness. Hence it was not long until Macrinus assigned the oversight of the city to Marius Maximus in his stead; indeed, it looked as if he had made Adventus city prefect with the sole purpose of polluting the senate-chamber, inasmuch as the man had not only served in the mercenary force and had performed the various duties of executioners, scouts, and centurions, but had furthermore obtained the rule over the city prior to performing the duties of the consulship, that is, had become city prefect before being senator. Macrinus had really acted thus in the case of Adventus with the purpose of throwing his own record into the background, since he himself had seized the imperial office while still a knight.

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[1] *Frumentarii.*

[2] *Princeps peregrinorum* (*sc. castrorum*). See Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwalt.* II.², p. 494, n. 3.

15 Ἐκεῖνά τε οὖν τινὲς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐμέμφοντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐπάρχους τόν τε Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν Οὔλπιον καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν Νέστορα ἀπέδειξε, μήτ' ἄλλην τινὰ ἀρετὴν ἔχοντας μήτ' ἐν πολλαῖς πράξεσιν ἐξητασμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ περιβοήτους ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Καρακάλλου ἀρχῇ γενομένους διὰ τὸ πολλὰ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀγγελιαφόρων σφᾶς ἡγουμένους πρὸς τὰς ἀνοσίους πολυπραγ-
2 μοσύνας ὑπηρετῆσαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὀλίγοι ἐλογίζοντο καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐ καθαρῶς ἐθάρσουν. οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πρός τε τὴν διὰ βραχέος παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ Ταραύτου ἀπαλλαγὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου παραπλησίαν, ἐξ ὧν ὑπεδεδείχει[1] σφίσιν, πρὸς πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσδοκίαν οὐκ ἔσχον καιρὸν δι' ὀλίγου οὕτως αὐτοῦ καταγνῶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἰσχυρῶς ἀποθανόντα ἐπόθησαν ὃν πάντως ἄν, εἴπερ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐβεβιώ-
3 κει, διὰ μίσους ἐσχήκεσαν. καὶ γὰρ τρυφερώτερόν πως ζῆν ἤρξατο, καὶ τῶν διαμεμφομένων τι αὐτοῦ ἐπεστρέφετο. τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ματερνιανὸν τόν τε Δάτον οὐκ εὐλόγως μὲν (τί γὰρ ἠδικήκεσαν τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σφων περιέποντες;), οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου τρόπου, ἐπεὶ ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ ἐγεγόνει, διεχρήσατο· τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις τοῖς τὴν δυσγένειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παράλογον τῆς μοναρχίας ἔφεσιν δυσχεραίνειν ὑποπτευομένοις
4 οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐπεξῄει. πάντα γάρ που τἀναντία αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν, εἰδότα ὅστις τε ἀρχὴν ἐπεφύκει καὶ ὅστις τότε ἦν, μήθ' ὑπερφρονεῖν . . . . μετρίως

[1] ὑπεδεδείχει Dind., ΥΠΟΔΕΔΕΙΧΕΙ V.

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[1] Probably the position of *princeps peregrinorum*.

But these were not the only acts for which he met with well-deserved censure; he was also blamed for appointing as prefects Ulpius Julianus and Julianus Nestor, men who possessed no excellence at all and had not been widely tested in affairs, but had become quite notorious for knavery in Caracallus' reign; for, being in command of his couriers,[1] they had been of great assistance to him in satisfying his unholy curiosity. Only a few people, however, paid heed to these matters, which did not tend wholly to reassure them; the majority of the ordinary citizens, in view of their having got rid of Tarautas so promptly, which was more than they could have hoped for, and in view of the promise the new ruler gave, in the few indications afforded, that his course in all other respects would be similar, did not really have time to condemn him in so short a period, and for this reason they mourned him exceedingly when he was dead, though they would certainly have held him in hatred had he lived longer. For he began to live rather more luxuriously and he took official notice of those who found any fault with him. His putting Maternianus and Datus to death was not justifiable, to be sure,—for what wrong had they done in being attentive to their emperor?—yet it was not inconsistent with human nature, since he had been in great peril; but he made a mistake when he vented his wrath upon the others, who were suspected of being displeased at his low birth and his unwarranted desire for the supreme power. He ought, of course, to have done precisely the opposite: realizing what he had been at the outset and what his position was now, he should not have been haughty, [but should have

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. . . . | μονα τὸν ὁ . . . .
. . . | θεραπεύοντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῇ τε εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀρετῆς διὰ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπιδείξει παραμυθεῖσθαι.

16 Ταῦτα μὲν . . . . | κατ' αὐτὸν α . . . . . . εἴ|ρηταί μοι εν . . . . | ὡς ἕκαστα . . . . | μης τινος . . . . | κεινωνες . . . . αὐτο|κράτωρ μεν . . . . | ραις ὥσπερ . . . . | λόγῳ παρὰ . . . . | τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . . | παντὸς μα . . . . | νος αὐτῆς . . . . | των ὧν διελ . . . . | στρατιώταις . . . . | ἀπεδείχθ . . . . | καὶ ἐπαίνους ἑαυτοῦ

2 οὐκ ὀλίγους μὲν ἀνειπεῖν ἐτόλμησεν, ἔτι δὲ πλείους ἐπιστεῖλαι, λέγων ἄλλα τε καὶ ὅτι "εὖ ἠπιστάμην καὶ ὑμᾶς τοῖς στρατεύμασι συνομολογήσαντας, συνειδὼς ἐμαυτῷ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ πεποιηκότι τὸ κοινόν." ἐνέγραψεν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ Καίσαρά θ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Σεουῆρον, προσθεὶς τῷ Μακρίνου ὀνόματι καὶ εὐσεβῆ καὶ εὐτυχῆ καὶ Αὔγουστον καὶ ἀνθύπατον, οὐκ ἀναμένων τι, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, παρ' ἡμῶν ψήφισμα.

3 . . . . . . λεν δὲ οὐκ ἡ | . . . . τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικαῦτα ῥήματα αὐτὸς | . . . . μενος οὗ οὐδὲ | . . . . ης ὄνομα | . . . . ν δορυφόρων | . . . . ερόν τινες | . . . . οὐ μὴν ἀλ | . . . . τως ἐγρα | . . . . τὴν ἀρχὴν | . . . . εμον μάλι | . . . . ων βαρβάρων | . . . .

4 . . . . . ρημον προι | . . . . ν

acted] with moderation [and] cultivated [the ge]nius of his h[ousehold,] and thus encouraged people by kindness and a uniform display of excellence everywhere alike. A.D. 217

These things . . . . in regard to him . . . . I have said . . . . in detail . . . . of some . . . . emperor . . . . just as . . . . nominally . . . . the rule . . . . of all . . . . that [he said ?] . . . . to [the] soldiers . . . . was shown . . and he made bold to utter not a few praises of himself and to send still more in letters,[1] saying among other things: "I understood full well that you, too, had agreed with the legions, since I had the consciousness of having conferred many benefits upon the State." And in this letter he subscribed himself Caesar, emperor, and Severus, adding to the name Macrinus the titles Pius, Felix, Augustus, and proconsul, without waiting for any vote on our part, as would have been fitting. He [sent the letter with full knowledge that] he had on his own responsibility [assum]ed so many and so great titles . . . . name . . . . of Pretorians . . . . some . . . . nevertheless . . . . so wrote . . . . the rule (?) . . . . war chiefly (?) . . . . the barbarians . . . .

[1] Letters addressed to the senate.

πλησίον | . . . . ηθει παρον | . . . . στον δρασω | . . . . η τῇ τε ἐπι | . . . . . . ἔγραψεν ἁπλῶς | . . . . οἱ πρὸ τοῦ Καρακάλλου αὐτοκράτορες, ... ο καὶ διὰ παν | . . . . ς ἐποίησε | . . . . ὑπομνήματα | . . . . στρατιώταις | . . . . οὕτως ἐκει | . . . . ἐπὶ κολα | . . . . των καὶ οὐ | . . . . είας λέγεσθαι | ὑπώπτευσαν ὥστε καὶ δημοσιευθῆναι αὐτὰ ἀξιῶσαι, ἔπεμψεν ἡμῖν, ἅτινα καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ ταμίας, ὥσπερ καὶ ἕτερα αὖθις τῶν ὁμοίων, ἀνέγνω. καὶ στρατηγὸς δέ τις τὰ αὐτοῦ ποτὲ
5 τοῦ Μακρίνου γράμματα, τῷ σύγκλητόν τε τότε τὴν βουλὴν γενέσθαι καὶ μηδένα τῶν ταμιῶν παρεῖναι, ἐπελέξατο.

17 Τῆς δ' οὖν πρώτης ἐπιστολῆς ἀναγνωσθείσης καὶ ἐκείνῳ, ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ τῷ υἱεῖ αὐτοῦ ἐψηφίσθη· εὐπατρίδης τε γὰρ καὶ πρόκριτος τῆς νεότητος Καῖσάρ τε ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ ὃς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα προσεδέξατο, τὴν δὲ δὴ ἱπποδρομίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ ψηφισθεῖσαν παρῃτήσατο, εἰπὼν αὐτάρκως αὐτὴν τῇ τῶν
2 Σεουήρου γενεσίων θέᾳ τετιμῆσθαι. τοῦ μέντοι[1] Ταραύτου οὐδεμίαν μνείαν οὔτ' ἔντιμον τότε γε οὔτ' ἄτιμον ἐποιήσατο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ὠνόμασεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἥρωα οὔτε πολέμιον ἀποδεῖξαι ἐτόλμησεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ, ὅτι τὸ μὲν διά τε τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων μῖσος, τὸ δὲ διὰ τοὺς
3 στρατιώτας ὤκνησε πρᾶξαι, ὡς δέ τινες ὑπώπτευσαν, ὅτι τῆς τε γερουσίας καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὴν

near . . . . A.D. 217

. . . .
[in] the let[ter] he used simply [the same terms as] the emperors before Caracallus, [and in fact] he did [this] throughout the whole [year] . . notebooks [found among the] soldiers . . . . thus . . . . of [things accustom]ed to be said with a view to flat[tery] and not [inspired by truthful]ness they became so suspicious as to ask that they be made public; and he sent them to us, and the quaestor read these also, as he did other similar documents later. And on one occasion, when the senate met in special session and none of the quaestors was present, a praetor read the letters of Macrinus himself.

When, therefore, the first letter had been read, appropriate measures were passed with reference both to Macrinus and to his son, the latter being declared Patrician, *Princeps Iuventutis*, and Caesar. Macrinus accepted everything except the horse-race that was voted in honour of the beginning of his reign; but this he declined, claiming that the event had been sufficiently honoured by the games on the birthday of Severus. Of Tarautas he made no mention at this time, either complimentary or disparaging, save only that he referred to him as emperor, not venturing to declare him either a demigod or a public enemy. He hesitated, in my opinion, to take the former course because of the deeds of his predecessor and the consequent hatred felt for him by many, or to take the second on account of the soldiers; but some suspected that it was because he wished the

[1] μέντοι Bk., MENTOY V.

ἀτιμίαν αὐτοῦ ἔργον γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτοῦ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ὄντος,[1] ἠθέλησε. τοῦ τε γὰρ πολέμου αἰτιώτατον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀδικίας γεγονέναι, καὶ τὸ δημόσιον ἰσχυρῶς τῇ τῶν χρημάτων τῶν[2] τοῖς βαρβάροις διδομένων αὐξήσει βεβαρηκέναι ἔφη· ἰσάριθμα γὰρ αὐτὰ τῇ τῶν στρατευομένων μισθοφορᾷ[3] εἶναι. 4 οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐτόλμησέ τις δημοσίᾳ τι τοιοῦτο κατ' αὐτοῦ θρασύνασθαι ὥστε καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸν ψηφίσασθαι, δεδιὼς μὴ καὶ παραυτίκα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει στρατευομένων φθαρῇ· ἀλλὰ ἄλλως μὲν καὶ ἐλοιδόρουν αὐτὸν καὶ ὕβριζον ὅσα ἐδύναντο, τάς τε μιαιφονίας αὐτοῦ ὀνομαστὶ[4] καταλέγοντες, καὶ πρὸς πάντας αὐτὸν τοὺς πώποτε κακῶς τυραννήσαντάς σφων παρα-18 δεικνύντες, τήν τε ἱπποδρομίαν τὴν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ τελουμένην καταλυθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τούς τε χρυσοῦς καὶ τοὺς ἀργυροῦς πάντας ἁπλῶς δι' ἐκεῖνον[5] συγχωνευθῆναι, τούς τε μεμηνυκότας τι αὐτῷ[6] πολλῇ σπουδῇ καὶ 2 φανερωθῆναι καὶ κολασθῆναι δεόμενοι· πολλοὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι δοῦλοί τε καὶ ἐξελεύθεροι καὶ στρατιῶται καὶ Καισάρειοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱππῆς βουλευταί τε καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν[7] ἐπιφανεστάτων συχναὶ καὶ ἐνδείξεις λαθρίους ἐπ' αὐτοῦ[8] πεποιῆσθαι καὶ σεσυκοφαντηκέναι τινὰς ἐνομίζοντο. 3 οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐκείνῳ τὸ τοῦ πολεμίου ὄνομα

[1] ὄντος Falc., ΕΝΤΟΣ V. [2] τῶν supplied by Rk.
[3] μισθοφορᾷ Dind., ΜΙΣΘΟΦΟΡΙΑΙ V.
[4] ὀνομαστὶ] ΟΝΟΜΑΣΤΕΙ V.
[5] δι' ἐκεῖνον is perhaps corrupt; Reiske proposed ⟨τοὺς⟩ δι' ἐκεῖνον ⟨ἱδρυθέντας⟩ (the statues "erected on his account").

dishonouring of Tarautas to be the act of the senate A.D. 217 and the people rather than his own, especially as he was in the midst of the legions. He also said that Tarautas by his wrongdoing had been chiefly responsible for the war and had added an immense burden to the public treasury by increasing the amount of money given to the barbarians, since it was equal to the pay of the soldiers under arms. No one dared, however, to utter any such bold sentiment publicly against him and go so far as to vote him a public enemy, for fear of immediate destruction at the hands of the soldiers in the City. Nevertheless, in other ways they heaped abuse and insult upon him to the best of their ability; they recited the list of his bloody deeds with the name of each victim; they compared him to all the evil tyrants that had ever held sway over them; and they demanded that the horse-race celebrated on his birthday should be abolished, that absolutely all the statues, both gold and silver, should be melted down because of him,[1] and that those who had served him in any way as informers should be made known and punished with the utmost speed. For many persons, not only slaves, freedmen, soldiers, and the imperial freedmen, but also knights and senators and even many of the most prominent women, were believed to have made secret reports and brought false accusations against persons during his reign. And although they did not apply to Tarautas the name of public

[1] The text may be corrupt; see critical note.

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[6] αὐτῷ Leuncl., ΑΥΤΩΝ V.
[7] τῶν Rk., ΤΩΝΤΕ V.
[8] αὐτοῦ Falc., ΑΥΤΟΥΣ V.

προσέθεσαν, καίτοι τὸν Μαρτιάλιον, ἐπὶ προσχήματι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἄρεα αὐτοῦ[1] ὁμωνυμίας, καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἀγάλμασι τιμηθῆναι δεῖν ἀεί ποτε ἐπιβοῶντες, οὔτε τῷ Μακρίνῳ ὡς καὶ 4 ἀχθόμενοί τι τότε ἐνεδείξαντο. αἴτιον δ' ὅτι προκαταληφθέντες τῇ διὰ τὸν τοῦ Ταραύτου θάνατον χαρᾷ οὐδὲ ἐννοῆσαί τι περὶ τῆς ταπεινότητος αὐτοῦ ἐσχόλασαν, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδέξαντο, οὐχ οὕτως ᾧτινι[2] δουλεύσουσιν ὡς οὗ ἐστέρηντο ἐνθυμούμενοι, καὶ πάντα τινά, καὶ τὸν τυχόντα, αἱρετώτερον αὐτοῦ 5 νομίζοντες ἔσεσθαι. καί τι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐπιταγῶν τῶν[3] ὑπ' ἐκείνου καταδειχθέντων κατάλυσις (πάντα γὰρ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκός, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκοθέν τισιν ἐξ ἐπιτροπῆς αὐτοῦ πρός τινων δήμων ἀνηλίσκετο, ἀνετάγη) καὶ ἡ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα μηδὲν ὅμοιον αὐτοῖς προσταχθήσεσθαι[4] ἐλπὶς ἀνέπεισε στέρξαι τοῖς παροῦσιν.

19 Ὡς μέντοι τόν τε Αὐρηλιανὸν τεθνηκότα καὶ τὸν Διαδουμενιανὸν[5] τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ[6] Καίσαρα λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν δι' ὧν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μεταπεμφθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διῄει, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου, ἀποδεδειγμένον καὶ προσέτι τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου ὄνομα προσειλη-2 φότα ἔμαθον (ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν στρατιωτῶν θεραπείᾳ, τὸ μὲν ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ τὴν τοῦ τεθνηκότος μνήμην παντάπασιν ἀτιμάζειν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τῶν ἀνδριάντων τινὰς τῶν ἐν

[1] αὐτοῦ Leuncl., ΤΟΥ V.
[2] ᾧτινι Sylb., ΟΤΙΤΙΝΙ V Xiph.
[3] ἐπιταγῶν τῶν Bs., ΕΠΙΤΕΤΩΝ V.

enemy, they were forever shouting that Martialis ought to be honoured with encomiums and with statues—taking as their pretext the similarity of his name to that of Mars. Nor did they show any indication of displeasure toward Macrinus for the moment, for the reason that they were so fully taken up with their joy at the death of Tarautas that they had no time to take any thought about Macrinus' humble origin and were content to accept him as emperor, since they were less concerned about whose slaves they should be next than they were about the man whose yoke they had shaken off, and thought that any chance comer, even, would be preferable to their former master. All the irregular expenditures were rehearsed that had been made at any time, not only from the public treasury of the Romans, but also privately by any communities at Tarautas' direction; and thus the abolishing of his enactments and the hope that in the future nothing similar would be required of them inclined people to be satisfied with things as they were.

A.D. 217

But presently they learned that Aurelianus was dead and that Diadumenianus, the son of Macrinus, had been appointed Caesar,—nominally by the soldiers, through whose ranks he passed when summoned from Antioch to meet his father, but really by Macrinus,—and had also taken the name of Antoninus. (Macrinus had done this in order to curry favour with the soldiers, partly so as not to seem to dishonour the dead emperor's memory entirely, the more so as he had secretly thrown down some of the statues set up

[4] *προσταχθήσεσθαι* Bk., ΠΡΑΧΘΗΣΕΣΘΑΙ V.
[5] *Διαδουμενιανόν* Urs., ΔΟΥΜΗΝΙΑΝΟΝ V.
[6] *αὐτοῦ* Urs., ΕΑΥΤΟΥ V.

τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ σταθέντων[1] λάθρᾳ καθῃρήκει, τὸ δὲ ἵνα ἄλλας ἑπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα αὐτοῖς δραχ-
3 μὰς προσυπόσχηται, ἐποίησεν), οὐκέτι ὁμοίως φρονεῖν ἤρξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμούμενοι ὅτι πρότερον ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐπεποίηντο, καὶ προσεκλογιζόμενοι πάνθ' ὅ . . . . | ἄλλων αὐτοῦ τ . . . . . . | προσυποπτεύ . . . . | κάζοντο, ᾐσχύνθησαν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν Καρακάλλου οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐ . . . . . . | το, τὰ δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνον φέροντα ἄλλως . . . . | στέλλοντο τι . . . . πα|ραιτήσει τῶν . . . . | τοῦ
4 Σεουήρου . . . . Ἀν|τωνίνου κα . . . . ξέφαινον κ . . . . | γε καὶ ἥρωα . . . . | κότα διὰ τὴν . . . . | νίαν οὐ δὴ . . . . | ἀποφανθῃ . . . . | καὶ παντάπασιν αἱ γνῶμαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ . . . . . . | μετέπεσον . . . . | γερουσίαν α . . . . | σα καὶ ἐπιφ . . . . | μονη ἐπι τ . . . . | κακουργησ . . . . | αὐτω ἐξαιτ . . . . | γην ἐμὲ δε . . . καὶ μέντοι κατ' ἄνδρα πάντων ἐρωτηθέντων περὶ τῶν τιμῶν αὐτοῦ
5 ἄλλοι τε ἀμφιβόλως ἀπεκρίναντο καὶ ο . . . . . . Σα|τουρνῖνος . . . . | τιαν τρόπον τινὰ ἐπιφημιζομεν . . . . | στρατηγῶν . . . . . . μὴ ἐξεῖναί οἱ μηδεμίαν ψῆφον περί του προθεῖναι, ἵνα μὴ ὁ . . . . νήσῃ σφίσιν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐγένετο (οὐ γὰρ ἦν νόμιμον ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς πράγματος σκέψιν τινὰ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ μὴ κελεύοντος τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος γενέσθαι).

by Tarautas in Rome to Alexander and also to himself, and partly to afford him an excuse for promising them three thousand sesterces more.) So people now began to feel differently toward him. When they reflected that previously they had held him in no esteem and took into account moreover all the . . . . his other . . . . further suspect . . . . they felt ashamed and did not . . . Caracallus any more . . . . . but the things pertaining to him . . . . by deprecating the [names] of Severus [and] Antoninus . . . they displayed . . . and demigod . . . . because of the . . . . and absolutely the opinions of all men in Rome changed . . . . senate . . . . me . . . . however, when all were asked individually regarding the honours for him, not only others answered ambiguously but also . . . . Saturninus . . . . in a way attributing (?) . . . . of praetors . . that it was not permissible for him to put any vote about anything, in order that the . . might not . . them. This procedure, now, was contrary to precedent; for it was not lawful that an investigation of any matter should take place in the senate except at the direction of the emperor.

[1] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ 'Αλεξάνδρῳ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ σταθέντων Hug, ΥΠΟΤΟΥΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΑΥΤΩΑΝΑΤΕΘΕΝΤΩΝΚΑΙΑΥΤΩΕΚΕΙΝΩ-ΣΤΑΘΕΝΤΩΝ V.

20 Ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἅτε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγωνίᾳ λανθάνων καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους σφῶν μᾶλλον θρασυνόμενος, μέγα ἀνεβόησεν ἐν τῇ τῶν τοῦ Διαδουμενιανοῦ γενεθλίων ἱπποδρομίᾳ, ᾗ τῇ[1] τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἡμέρᾳ ἐγίγνετο, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὀδυρόμενος καὶ λέγων μόνους τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἑαυτοὺς δὴ ἀπροστάτους ἀβασιλεύτους 2 εἶναι· τόν τε Δία ἀνεκάλουν ὡς δὴ καὶ μόνον σφῶν ἡγησόμενον, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἶπον ὅτι "ὡς κύριος ὠργίσθης, ὡς πατὴρ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς." οὐδὲ ἐφρόντισαν οὐδὲν τὴν πρώτην οὔτε τοῦ ἱππικοῦ οὔτε τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ τε . . . . τόν τε αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπαινούντων, ὥστε καὶ αὐ . . . . ἑλληνιστὶ εἰπεῖν "ὦ καλῆς ἡμέρας τῆς τήμερον, ὦ καλῶν βασιλέων," κἀκείνους καὶ ὁμοφρονεῖν σφίσιν ἐθελόντων· ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἀνέτεινον καὶ ἐβόων "οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ῥωμαίων Αὔγουστος· τοῦτον 3 ἔχοντες πάντα ἔχομεν." οὕτως που πολὺ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ αἰδοῦς ἐς τὸ κρεῖττον καὶ καταφρονήματος πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἐμπέφυκεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐκείνους μηδ' ἀρχὴν ἔτι εἶναι τόν τε Μακρῖνον καὶ τὸν Διαδουμενιανὸν νομίζειν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ 4 τεθνηκότας αὐτοὺς ἤδη καταπατεῖν. ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ οἱ[2] στρατιῶται κατεφρόνησαν αὐτοῦ, ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ σφῶν πραχθέντα θέμενοι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οἱ Περγαμηνοί, στερηθέντες ὧν παρὰ τοῦ[3] Ταραύτου πρότερον εἰλήφεσαν, πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐξύβρισαν, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἀτιμίαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὦφλον.

[1] ᾗ τῇ Bk., ΙΣΤΗ V. [2] οἱ Urs., ΤΟΙ V.
[3] παρὰ τοῦ Urs., ΠΑΡΑΥΤΟΥ V.

The populace, however, finding it easy to escape detection at the races and feeling emboldened by their numbers, raised a great outcry at the horse-race on the birthday of Diadumenianus, which fell on the fourteenth of September, uttering many laments and asserting that they alone of all mankind were without a leader and without a king; and they called upon Jupiter, declaring that he alone should be their leader and adding these very words: "As a master thou wert angry, as a father take pity on us." Nor would they pay any heed at first to either the equestrian or the senatorial order who were . . praising the emperor and the Caesar, to the extent of saying . . in Greek: "Oh, what a glorious day is this! What noble rulers!" and desiring the others, too, to agree with them. But the crowd raised their hands toward heaven and exclaimed: "Yonder is the Romans' Augustus;[1] having him, we have everything." So truly, it would seem, is there innate in mankind a great respect for that which is superior and a great contempt for that which is inferior; and so the populace henceforth regarded both Macrinus and Diadumenianus as absolutely non-existent, and already trampled upon them as if they were dead. This was one important reason why the soldiers despised him and paid no heed to what he did to win their favour; another still more important reason was that the Pergamenians, finding themselves deprived of the privileges that they had formerly received from Tarautas, heaped many and extraordinary insults upon him—conduct for which they were publicly dishonoured by him.

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[1] *i.e.* Jupiter.

21 Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα λελέξεται· τότε δὲ γράμμα μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ Μακρῖνος τῶν μηνυτικῶν οὔτε ἐσέπεμψεν ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν, ὥσπερ ἠξίουν, οὔτ' ἄλλως ἐξέφηνε, φήσας, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθῶς εἴτε καὶ ψευδῶς, ἵνα μὴ πολλὴ ταραχὴ γένηται, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ τοιοῦτον εὑρέθη (ὁ γάρ τοι Ταραύτας ἤτοι διέφθειρε τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἔνδειξίν τινα ἐχόντων, 2 ἢ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς πέμψασιν αὐτὰ ἀντέπεμπεν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἔλεγχος τῆς κακίας αὐτῶν ὑπολείπηται), τρεῖς δὲ δὴ τῶν βουλευτῶν, οὓς μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξ ὧν ἐπεφωράκει ἀξιομισεῖς ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ἐκδήλους ἐποίησε, τόν τε Μανίλιον καὶ τὸν Ἰούλιον καὶ προσέτι Σουλπίκιον Ἀρρηνιανόν, ὃς ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ τὸν Βάσσον τὸν τοῦ Πομπωνίου παῖδα, ᾧ τῆς Μυσίας 3 ἄρξαντι ὑπεστρατηγήκει, ἐσεσυκοφαντήκει. καὶ οὗτοί τε ἐς νήσους ὑπερωρίσθησαν (ἀπεῖπε γὰρ ἄντικρυς μηδένα αὐτῶν θανατωθῆναι, αὐτὸ τοῦτο γράψας "ἵνα μή, ἃ ἐκείνοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν, αὐτοὶ ποιοῦντες φανῶμεν") καὶ Λούκιος Πρισκιλλιανὸς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς βουλῆς προβληθείς, οὕτω περιβόητος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπηρείαις ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς 4 τῶν θηρίων σφαγαῖς ὤν. ἔν τε[1] γὰρ τῷ Τουσκούλῳ πολλοῖς ἀεὶ πολλάκις ἐμαχέσατο, ὥστε καὶ σημεῖα τῶν δηγμάτων[2] αὐτῶν φέρειν, καί ποτε καὶ ἄρκτῳ καὶ παρδάλει λεαίνῃ τε καὶ λέοντι ἅμα μόνος συνηνέχθη·[3] καὶ πολὺ πλείους ἄνδρας, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ἐκ

E EN

[1] ὤν. ἔν τε Bs., HNTE V (corrections by V²).
[2] δηγμάτων Urs., ΔΕΙΓΜΑΤΩΝ V.

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The behaviour of the soldiers will be described presently. At the time in question Macrinus neither sent to the senate, as they were demanding, nor otherwise published any document of the informers, claiming, whether truly or falsely, in order to avoid great commotion, that none such had been found in the royal residence. (For Tarautas had either destroyed the greater part of the documents containing any accusation or had returned them to the senders themselves, as I have stated,[1] in order that no evidence of their baseness should be left.) But he did reveal the names of three senators whom he himself, from what he had discovered, regarded as especially deserving of hatred. These were Manilius and Julius, together with Sulpicius Arrenianus, who had falsely accused, among others, Bassus, the son of Pomponius, whose lieutenant he had been when Pomponius was governor of Moesia. These men were banished to islands, as the emperor expressly forbade putting any of them to death, "lest," to quote his very words, "we should be found doing ourselves the very things of which we accuse them." Another man to be called to account was Lucius Priscillianus, who was accused by the senate itself, a man notorious alike for his insolent behaviour and for his killing of wild beasts. For he often fought with them, always in large numbers, at Tusculum, so that he bore the scars of their bites, and once unassisted he joined battle with a bear, a panther, a lioness, and a lion all at the same time; but far more numerous than the wild beasts were the men, both knights and

[1] In a passage no longer extant.

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[3] μόνος συνηνέχθη Xiph., ΜΟΝΟΙΣΣΥΝΕΧΘΗ V.

5 τῶν διαβολῶν ἐξώλεσεν. ἐφ' οἷς ἀμφοτέροις ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ Καρακάλλου μεγάλως ἐτιμήθη καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐστρατηγηκότας ἐσεγράφη καὶ τῆς Ἀχαΐας καὶ παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἦρξεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς[1] γερουσίας ἰσχυρῶς ἐμισήθη, καὶ ἐπίκλητός τε ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς νῆσον κατεκλείσθη.

22 Οὗτοί τε οὖν οὕτως ἀπήλλαξαν, καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος τὴν τῶν τροφῶν διάδοσιν, ἣν ὁ Μανίλιος πρότερον † ἔσχε τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ συκοφαντίας γέρας εἰλήφει, ἐπετράπη καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τό τε διαδίδοσθαί τινα ἐν ταῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν πάνυ θέαις, πλὴν τῶν τῇ Φλώρᾳ τελουμένων . . . . δικαιονόμοι †[2] οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διοικοῦντες ἐπαύσαντο ὑπὲρ τὰ νομισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάρκου
2 δικάζοντες. Δομίτιός τέ τις Φλῶρος περιδρομῇ θεραπείας πρὸς σπουδαρχίαν, καίτοι πρότερόν ποτε τὰ τῆς βουλῆς ὑπομνήματα διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων καὶ ἀγορανόμος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀποδειχθῆναι ὀφείλων, εἶτα πρὶν ἄρξαι τῆς ἐλπίδος διὰ Πλαυτιανὸν ἐκπεσών, κατεστήσατο καὶ δήμαρχος ἀπεδείχθη· ὅ τε Φαῦστος[3] ὁ Ἀνίκιος ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀντὶ
3 τοῦ Ἄσπρου ἄρξων ἐπέμφθη. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ πάνυ πολλῆς παρὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου τιμῆς, ὡς καὶ καταστῆσαι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ δυνησόμενος,[4] ἔτυχεν· ἔπειτ' ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντα αὐτὸν ἤδη καὶ πλησιάζοντα τῷ ἔθνει (τὴν

[1] ἦρξεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Reim., ΗΡΞΕΚΑΥΠΟΤΗΣ V.
[2] The text is very uncertain here; various conjectures may be found in Boissevain's edition.

[3] Φαῦστος Borghesi, ΦΗΣΤΗΣ V (Ο by V²), but ΦΑΥΣΤΩ in § 4.
[4] δυνησόμενος Urs., ΔΥΝΗΣΟΜΕΝΗΣ V.

senators, that he destroyed by his false charges. A.D. 217
On both these accounts he had been highly honoured by Caracallus, had been enrolled among the ex-praetors, and had become governor of Achaia, in violation of precedent; but he incurred the violent hatred of the senate, was summoned for trial, and was confined upon an island. These men, then, were punished as described.

Flaccus was put in charge of the distribution of provisions,[1] an office which Manilius had formerly held after obtaining it as a reward for his false accusation of Flaccus. And this distribution was henceforward [discontinued?], together with the distribution of presents, which regularly took place at the games given by the major praetors, except those celebrated in honour of Flora; [also the] *iuridici*,[2] who administered justice in Italy, ceased rendering decisions beyond the limits established by Marcus. A certain Domitius Florus, who formerly had been keeper of the senate records and should by right have been appointed aedile next, but had, then, before he could enter on the office, been deprived of all hope of it because of Plautianus, now recovered his standing, thanks to the vigorous canvassing of his followers, and was appointed tribune. Anicius Faustus was sent to govern Asia in place of Asper. The latter had at first obtained very great honour from Macrinus, who thought that he could re-establish order in Asia; but later, when he was already on his way and was nearing his province (for Macrinus had not

[1] *Praefectus alimentorum*, an official in charge of the State funds devoted to the support of needy children.

[2] Circuit judges of Italy outside of Rome; under Aurelius they seem to have had only civil jurisdiction.

γὰρ παραίτησιν, ἣ παρὰ τοῦ Καρακάλλου παρῄτητο, ἐς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαν οὐκ ἐδέξατο) δεινῶς περιύβρισεν ἀπωσάμενος (καὶ γάρ τινα καὶ διηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ λελαληκὼς οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια), 4 καὶ δῆτα, ὡς καὶ αὖθις αὐτοῦ παρεμένου διά τε γῆρας καὶ νόσον, τῷ Φαύστῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν, καίπερ παροφθέντι τὴν τοῦ κλήρου τάξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου, ἐνεχείρισεν· καὶ ἐπειδή γε βραχὺς ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτῷ ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος ἄρξαι αὐτὸν ἀντ' Αὐφιδίου Φρόντωνος ἐκέλευσε. 5 τούτῳ γὰρ οὔτε τὴν Ἀφρικὴν κατακληρωσαμένῳ ἐπέτρεψεν τῶν Ἄφρων αὐτὸν παραιτησαμένων, οὔτε τὴν Ἀσίαν, καίτοι μεταθεὶς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖσε πρότερον. τὸ γε μὴν ἱκνούμενον γέρας καὶ οἴκοι μείναντι αὐτῷ, τὰς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας, δοθῆναι ἐσηγήσατο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος αὐτὰς ἔλαβεν, εἰπὼν οὐκ ἀργυρίου ἀλλ' ἡγεμονίας δεῖσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' ὕστερον παρὰ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου τὸ ἔθνος ἀπέλαβεν.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, ... | ἐπ' ἐλπίδι β . . . . | φομένοις . . . . | ἐκ τῆς . . . . | μέχρι τῆς σ . . . 23 . . . . . . | ἡλικίας ἐκ . . . . · ἡ δὲ Ἰουλία ἡ τοῦ Ταραύτου μήτηρ ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ οὖσα, καὶ οὕτω παραχρῆμα, ἅμα τῇ πύστει τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, διετέθη ὥστε καὶ πλήξασθαι ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀποκαρτερῆσαι ἐπιχειρῆσαι. ὃν γὰρ ζῶντα καὶ ἐμίσει, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον τότε τετελευτηκότα ἐπόθει, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκεῖνον ζῆν ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὴ ἰδιωτεύουσα ἤχθετο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν Μακρῖνον πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐλοιδόρησεν.

accepted his request for retirement which had been A.D. 217 made to Caracallus and referred to him), Macrinus offered him a terrible affront by rejecting him. For reports came to him that Asper had made some improper remarks, and so, as though Asper had asked to be relieved a second time because of his age and illness, he assigned Asia to Faustus, though this man had been overlooked in the order of allotment by Severus; and since his time in office was going to be short, he ordered him to continue to govern for the following year also, in place of Aufidius Fronto. To Fronto he would entrust neither Africa, which he had drawn by lot, since the Africans protested against his appointment, nor yet Asia, though he had at first transferred him to that province. As for the salary, however, that went with the position,—one million sesterces,—he proposed that that should be given to Fronto while he remained at home. Fronto, however, would not accept the salary, saying that it was not money but a governorship that he wanted; and accordingly he later received the province from Sardanapalus.

Besides these arrangements . . . . to the [orphans who were being sup]ported in the hope . . . . from the . . . . to the age of m[ilitary service]. Now Julia, the mother of Tarautas, chanced to be in Antioch, and at the first information of her son's death she was so affected that she dealt herself a violent blow and tried to starve herself to death. Thus she mourned, now that he was dead, the very man whom she had hated while he lived; yet it was not because she wished that he were alive, but because she was vexed at having to return to private life. This led her to indulge in much bitter abuse

2 ἔπειθ' ὡς οὔτε τι τῆς βασιλικῆς θεραπείας ἢ καὶ τῆς τῶν δορυφόρων περὶ αὐτῇ φρουρᾶς ἠλλοιώθη, καὶ ἐκεῖνος χρηστά τινα αὐτῇ, τὰ λεχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀκηκοώς, ἐπέστειλε, θαρσήσασα τήν τε
3 τοῦ θανάτου ἐπιθυμίαν κατέθετο, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιγράψασα ἔπραττέν τι καὶ ἐς τοὺς συνόντας οἱ στρατιώτας | ἄλλως τε . . . . | καὶ ἐκειν . . . . ‖ . . . . καὶ τῷ τε Μα|κρίνῳ . . . . . ομένους | . . . . υ υἱέος αὐτῆς | . . . . ον μνημονεύοντας, ὅπως αὐταρχήσῃ τῇ τε Σεμιράμιδι καὶ τῇ Νιτώκριδι, ἅτε καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον τινὰ χωρίων αὐταῖς οὖσα, παρισουμένη. ὡς . . . . ῃ συνῄρε | . . . . αι γράμματα | . . . . ου Μακρίνου | . . . . ι
4 τινα ἐφ' οἷς | . . . . οντα ελα | . . . . ν γνώμης | . . . . ειτο φοβηθεῖσα μὴ τοῦ τε ὀνόματος τοῦ τῆς Αὐγούστης στερηθῇ καὶ ἐς τα . . . . . . πατρίδα ἀπελθεῖν ἀναγκασθῇ καὶ παν | . . . . δεινοτε | . . . . ας γυναι | . . . . ωνων προσ | . . . . θενεστε | . . . . νατω τε | . . . . νω τις οφθη | . . . . ατο παν του | . .
5 . . . . ιέναι μη | . . . . μην ἀνελ | . . . . σθῇ καὶ ἐ | . . . . Μακρίνου | . . . . κοι κατα | . . . . ι τοῦ τἀναντία πράττειν δοκεῖν ε | . . . . ξειν ὅπως | . . . . ῃ κατα | . . . . οχωρήσῃ | . . . . ἐκεῖνός τε ἐξελθεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς
6 Ἀντιοχείας αὐτήν, ὅποι βούλοιτο, ἐκέλευσεν, καὶ

of Macrinus. Then, as no change was made in her royal retinue or in the guard of Pretorians in attendance upon her, and the new emperor sent her a kindly message, although he had heard what she had said, she took courage, put aside her desire for death, and without writing him any reply, began intriguing with the soldiers she had about her, who [were mutinous] to begin with, [were very fond of] her, and were [angry] with Macrinus, and [consequently] held her son in [pleasant]er remembrance; for she hoped to become sole ruler and make herself the equal of Semiramis and Nitocris, inasmuch as she came in a sense from the same parts as they. But as . . . . letters . . . . of Macrinus . . . . some for which . . . . opinion . . . . fearing she might be deprived of the title of Augusta and be forced to return to [her] native country and . . . .

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. . . . . . of Macrinus . . . . of seeming to do the opposite . . . . how . . . . might go . . . . [when] he ordered her to leave Antioch as soon as possible and go whithersoever

A.D. 217

τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ περὶ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτῆς λεχθέντα ἤκουσεν, οὐκέτ' ἐφιλοψύχησεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ καρκίνου, ὃν ἐν τῷ μαστῷ ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἡσυχάζοντά πως ἔχουσα τότε ἠρέθισεν[1] ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἣν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς θανάτῳ κοψαμένη κατὰ[2] τῶν στέρνων ἐπέπληκτο, συναιρουμένη προσδιέφθειρεν ἑαυτὴν ἀποκαρτερήσασα.

24 Καὶ ἡ μὲν οὕτω τε ἐκ δημοτικοῦ γένους ἐπὶ μέγα ἀρθεῖσα, κἂν[3] τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονίᾳ περιαλγῶς πάνυ διὰ τὸν Πλαυτιανὸν ζήσασα, τῶν τε υἱέων τόν τε νεώτερον ἐν τοῖς αὐτῆς κόλποις κατασφαγέντα ἐπιδοῦσα καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτερον ζῶντά τε ἀεὶ διὰ τέλους διὰ[4] φθόνου
2 ἔχουσα καὶ φονευθέντα οὕτω μαθοῦσα, τῆς ἀρχῆς ζῶσα ἐξέπεσεν καὶ ἑαυτὴν προσκατειργάσατο, ὥστε τινὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἀποβλέψαντα μὴ πάνυ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις ἐξουσίαις γενομένους μακαρίζειν, ἂν μὴ καὶ ἡδονή τις αὐτοῖς τοῦ βίου καὶ ἀληθὴς καὶ ἀκήρατος καὶ εὐτυχία
3 καὶ ἀκραιφνὴς καὶ διαρκὴς ὑπάρχῃ. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς Ἰουλίας οὕτως ἔσχε, τό τε σῶμα αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναχθὲν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Γαΐου τοῦ τε Λουκίου μνήματι κατετέθη· ὕστερον μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Γέτα ὀστᾶ, πρὸς τῆς Μαίσης τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τεμένισμα μετεκομίσθη.

25 Ἔμελλεν δ' οὐδ' ὁ Μακρῖνος ἐπὶ πολὺ περιοίσειν, ὥς που καὶ προεδηλώθη αὐτῷ. ἡμίονός τε γὰρ ἡμίονον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ χοῖρος χοιρίδιον ὦτα τέσσαρα[5] καὶ γλώσσας δύο πόδας τε ὀκτὼ

[1] ἠρέθισεν Xiph., om. V.

she wished, and she heard, moreover, what was said A.D. 217 in Rome about her son, she no longer cared to live, but hastened her death by refusing food, though one might say that she was already in a dying condition by reason of the cancer of the breast that she had had for a very long time; it had, however, been quiescent until, on the occasion referred to, she had inflamed it by the blow with which she had smitten her breast on hearing of her son's death.

And so this woman, sprung from the people and raised to a high station, who had lived during her husband's reign in great unhappiness because of Plautianus, who had beheld her younger son slain in her own bosom and had always from first to last borne ill will toward her elder son while he lived, and finally had received such tidings of his assassination, fell from power during her lifetime and thereupon destroyed herself. Hence no one could, in the light of her career, regard as happy each and all who attain great power, unless some genuine and unalloyed pleasure in life and unmixed and lasting good fortune is theirs. This, then, was the fate of Julia. Her body was brought to Rome and placed in the tomb of Gaius and Lucius. Later, however, both her bones and those of Geta were transferred by her sister Maesa to the precinct of Antoninus.

Macrinus was not destined to live long, either, as, indeed, it had been foretold to him. For a mule gave birth to a mule in Rome and a sow to a little pig with four ears, two tongues, and eight

[2] κατά Leuncl., KAITA V.
[3] κἂν Reim., KAI V.
[4] διά supplied by Bs.
[5] τέσσαρα Urs., ΤΕΣΣΕΡΑ V.

ἔχον ἔτεκε, καὶ σεισμὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐγένετο, αἷμά τε ἐκ σωλῆνος ἐρρύη, καὶ μέλισσαι κηρία ἐν τῇ
2 ἀγορᾷ τῇ βοαρίᾳ ἐνέπλασαν. τό τε θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν κεραυνοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῶν Ἡφαιστίων ἡμέρᾳ βληθὲν οὕτω κατεφλέχθη ὥστε τήν τε ἄνω περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ τοῦ κύκλου ἐδάφει[1] πάντα κατακαυθῆναι, κἀκ τούτου τὰ
3 λοιπὰ πυρωθέντα θραυσθῆναι. οὐδὲ ἐπαρκέσαι[2] αὐτῷ οὔτε ἀνθρωπίνη ἐπικουρία, καίπερ παντὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν ὕδατος ῥέοντος, οὔθ' ἡ τοῦ οὐρανίου ἐπίρροια πλείστη τε καὶ σφοδροτάτη γενομένη ἠδυνήθη· οὕτω που καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἑκάτερον ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν σκηπτῶν δυνάμεως ἀνηλίσκετο, καὶ ἐν μέρει καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσεσίνετο,[3] ὅθεν ἡ θέα τῶν μονομαχιῶν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη
4 ἐτελέσθη. τοῦτό τε οὖν τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι προεσήμαινεν,—ἐνεπρήσθη μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα τινά, καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν κτημάτων μάλιστα, ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ πολλάκις, ὅπερ που καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξαίσιον ἀεί ποτε νενόμισται· ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ ἄντικρυς ἐς αὐτὸν φέρειν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἱπποδρο-
5 μίαν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου κατελελύκει,[4] ἔδοξεν. ἔκ τε οὖν τούτου νέον τι γίγνεσθαι ἐτοπάσθη, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Τίβερις ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ ἡμέρᾳ πληθύσας ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐς τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν ὁδοὺς τοσαύτῃ ῥύμῃ ἐσέβαλεν ὥστε καὶ ἀνθρώπους παρασυ-

[1] ἐδάφει Reim., ΕΔΑΦΗ V.
[2] ἐπαρκέσαι St., ἐπαρκεῖν Reim., ΕΠΗΡΚΕΣΕΝ V.
[3] προσεσίνετο Bk., ΠΡΟΣΕΓΙΝΕΤΟ V.

feet, a great earthquake occurred, blood flowed from a pipe, and bees formed honeycomb in the Forum Boarium. The hunting theatre[1] was struck by thunderbolts on the very day of the Vulcanalia,[2] and such a blaze followed that its entire upper circuit and everything in the arena was consumed, and thereupon the rest of the structure was ravaged by the flames and reduced to ruins. Neither human aid could avail against the conflagration, though practically every aqueduct was emptied, nor could the downpour from the sky, which was most heavy and violent, accomplish anything—to such an extent was the water from both sources consumed by the power of the thunderbolts, and, in fact, actually contributed in a measure to the damage done. In consequence of this disaster the gladiatorial show was held in the stadium for many years. This, then, gave an indication beforehand of what was to be. There were numerous other fires, it is true, during Macrinus' reign, and in particular property belonging to the emperor was burned, a thing which in itself has always been regarded as of ill omen; but the conflagration described seemed to have a direct bearing upon the emperor, since it had also put an end to the horse-race in honour of Vulcan. This accordingly gave rise to the conjecture that something out of the ordinary was happening, as did also the behaviour on that same day of the Tiber, which rose until it invaded the Forum and the neighbouring streets with such violence as to

A.D. 217

[1] The Amphitheatrum Flavium or Colosseum.
[2] The 23rd of August.

[4] κατελελύκει Reim., ΚΑΤΑΛΕΛΥΚΕΝΑΙ V.

ῥῆναι. γυνή τέ τις, ὥς γε ἤκουσα, βλοσυρὰ καὶ ὑπέρογκος ὀφθεῖσά τισιν ἔφη ὅτι ἐλάχιστα ταῦτα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτοῖς συμβήσεσθαί ἐστιν.
26 καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει μόνῃ τὸ δεινὸν ἔμεινεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην αὐτῆς, ὑφ' ἧς τὸ θέατρον ἀεί ποτε ἐπληροῦτο, ἐπέσχεν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πόλεμον καὶ ἐλαττωθέντες κατέθεντο, τῇ δὲ ἐκ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ στάσει δεινῶς ἐκακώθησαν. ἐπράχθη δὲ ἑκάτερον ὧδε.[1]

2 Ὁ Μακρῖνος ἰδὼν τὸν Ἀρτάβανον σφόδρα τε ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεπόνθει θυμούμενον καὶ δυνάμει πολλῇ ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐμβεβληκότα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τούς τ' αἰχμαλώτους αὐτῷ αὐτεπάγγελτος καὶ λόγους φιλίους ἔπεμψε, πρός τε τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτὸν προκαλούμενος καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν γεγονό-
3 των ἐς τὸν Ταραύταν τρέπων· ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος οὔτε τοῦτο προσεδέξατο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ φρούρια αὐτὸν τάς τε πόλεις τὰς[2] κατασκαφείσας ἀναστῆσαι τῆς τε Μεσοποταμίας παντελῶς ἐκστῆναι καὶ δίκας ἐπί τε τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν
4 βασιλικῶν μνημάτων λύμῃ δοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν (τῇ τε γὰρ δυνάμει, ἣν πολλὴν ἠθροίκει, θαρρῶν, καὶ τοῦ Μακρίνου[3] ὡς καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν αὐταρχοῦντος καταφρονῶν, τῇ τε ὀργῇ ἀπλήστῳ ἐχρῆτο, καὶ ἤλπιζε καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο κατεργάσεσθαι),[4] οὐδὲ καιρὸν οὐδένα διαβουλεύ-
5 σασθαι ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν Νίσιβιν ἤδη προσιόντι ἡττήθη, μάχης περὶ τοῦ

Ω

[1] ὧδε. ὁ Μακρῖνος Bk., ΟΔΕΔΗΜΑΚΡΙΝΟΣ V (Ω by V³).
[2] τάς Xiph., om. V.

sweep even people away. And a woman, as I have heard, grim and gigantic, was seen by certain persons and declared that these disasters were insignificant in comparison to what was destined to befall them. And so it proved; for the evil was not confined to the city alone, but laid hold upon the whole world that was under its dominion, with whose inhabitants the theatre was regularly filled. For, in the first place, the Romans were defeated and gave up their war against the barbarians, and, in the second place, they suffered severely from the greed and strife of the soldiers. How both these things came about will now be related. A.D. 217

Macrinus, perceiving that Artabanus was exceedingly angry because of the way he had been treated and that he had invaded Mesopotamia with a large force, at first of his own accord sent him the captives and a friendly message, urging him to accept peace and laying the blame for the past upon Tarautas. But Artabanus would not entertain this proposal and furthermore bade him rebuild the forts and the demolished cities, abandon Mesopotamia entirely, and make reparation for the injury done to the royal tombs as well as for other damage. For, trusting in the large force that he had gathered and despising Macrinus as an unworthy emperor, he gave free rein to his wrath and hoped even without the Roman's consent to accomplish whatever he desired. Macrinus had no opportunity even for deliberation, but encountering him as he was already approaching Nisibis, was defeated in a battle that was begun by

[3] Μακρίνου Urs., ΜΑΚΡΙΝΟΥΣ V.
[4] κατεργάσεσθαι Leuncl., ΚΑΤΕΡΓΑΣΑΣΘΑΙ V Exc. U^R.

ὕδατος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐν τῇ ἀντιστρατοπεδεύσει γενομένης. καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τάφρευμα παρ' ὀλίγον ἀπέβαλεν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν οἵ τε ὑπασπισταὶ καὶ οἱ σκευοφόροι οἱ παρατυχόντες διεσώσαντο· θρασυνόμενοι γὰρ προεξῇξαν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπεκδραμόντες· τό τε γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον τῆς ἀντιτάξεως ὠφέλησεν αὐτούς, καὶ δὴ στρατιῶταί τινες ὡπλισμένοι ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπηρέται ἔδοξαν εἶναι. ὁ δ . . . . | τότε τε οὐ . . . . | καὶ μετα . . . . | ξεως παρ . . . . | της νυκ 7 . . . . | τὰ στρατό . . . . | οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι . . . . | το καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τὸν | θόρυβον . . . . | σφῶν α . . . . | πτευσαν . . . . | γην, ἀ . . . . | αὐτοὺς . ο . . . . | λυ ἀπαλ . η . . . . | σαν ἐπει . . . . | τες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι . . . . . | βαρβάρων . . . . | ασπτοησ . . . . | αληθειν . . . . | το πεποιη . . . . | θον τε αυ . . . . | μια μὲν μ . . . . | ἀ . . . λαξ . . . . || . . . . . . ήθει αὐτῶν βι|ασθέντες καὶ τῇ τοῦ Μακρίνου φυγῇ ἀθυμήσαντες ἐνικήθησαν. κἀκ τού8του . . . . . . τῆς Μεσοπο|ταμίας ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐκεί | . . . . τὴν Συρίαν κα | . . . . ιελθόντες | . . . . η. τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ μετοπώρῳ τῷ τε χειμῶνι, ἐν ᾧ ὅ τε Μακρῖνος καὶ ὁ Ἄδουεντος ὑπάτευσαν, ἐς μὲν χεῖρας οὐκέτ' ἀλλήλοις ἦλθον, διαπρεσβευόμενοι δὲ καὶ διακηρυκευόμενοι συνηλ-

the soldiers in a struggle over the water supply, A.D. 217 while they were encamped opposite each other. And he came near losing his very camp; but the armour-bearers and baggage-carriers who happened to be there saved it. For in their confidence these rushed out first and charged upon the barbarians, and the very unexpectedness of their opposition proved an advantage to them, causing them to appear to be armed soldiers rather than mere helpers. But . . . . both then not . . . . the nig[ht] . . . . the leg[ions ?] . . . . and the Romans . . . . and the enemy the noise . . . . of them . . . . [sus]pected . . . . them . . . . the Romans . . . . of the barbarians . . . . overcome by their [num]bers and by the flight of Macrinus, became dejected and were conquered. And as a result . . . . . . Mesopotamia, especially . . . . Syria . . . . These were the events that took place at that time; and in the autumn and winter, during which A.D. 216 Macrinus and Adventus became consuls, they no longer came to blows with each other, but kept sending envoys and heralds back and forth until

27 λάγησαν. ὁ γὰρ Μακρῖνος ὑπό τε δειλίας ἐμφύτου (καὶ γὰρ Μαῦρος ὢν δεινῶς ἐδείμαινεν) καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀταξίας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε διαπολεμῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἕνεκα καὶ δῶρα καὶ χρήματα καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀρταβάνῳ καὶ τοῖς παραδυναστεύουσίν οἱ ἐδαπάνησεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς πεντακισχιλίας μυριάδας τὸ σύμπαν 2 ἀνάλωμα γενέσθαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἔκ τε τούτου καὶ ὅτι καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ τῇ τε τοῦ χρόνου τριβῇ, ὃν πολὺν ἀπ' οἴκου οὐκ εἰωθότες ἦσαν, καὶ τῇ τῆς τροφῆς σπάνει, ἣν οὔτε ἐκ παρασκευῆς (οὐ γὰρ ἑτοιμάζονται) οὔτ' αὐτόθεν τῷ τὰ μὲν δεδῃῶσθαι τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν εἶναι εὐπόρουν, 3 δεινῶς ἤσχαλλον, οὐκ ἀκουσίως κατηλλάγη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶς ὁ Μακρῖνος τῇ[1] βουλῇ ἐπέστειλεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θυσίαι αὐτῷ ἐπινίκιοι ἐψηφίσθησαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ Παρθικὸν ἐδόθη. οὐ μὴν ἐδέξατο, αἰσχυνθείς, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπίκλησιν πολεμίων λαβεῖν ὑφ' ὧν ἥττητο.

4 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρμένιον πολεμωθέντα, ὥσπερ εἶπον, κατέστη, τοῦ[2] Τιριδάτου πεμφθὲν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα παρὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου λαβόντος, καὶ τὴν μητέρα, ἣν ἕνδεκα μησὶν ὁ Ταραύτας[3] ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ κατεσχήκει, τήν τε λείαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἁλοῦσαν κομισαμένου, καὶ τὰ χωρία ὅσα ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐκέκτητο, τό τε[4] ἀργύριον ὃ κατ' ἔτος

[1] τῇ Bk., ΤΗΤΕ V.
[2] τοῦ Bk., ΤΟΥΤΕ V.
[3] Ταραύτας Falc., ΤΑΡΑΥΤΟΣ V.

they reached an agreement. For Macrinus, both A.D. 218 because of his natural cowardice (for, being a Moor, he was exceedingly timorous) and because of the soldiers' lack of discipline, did not dare to fight the war out, but instead expended enormous sums in the form of gifts as well as money, which he presented both to Artabanus himself and to the powerful men about him, the entire outlay amounting to two hundred million sesterces. And the Parthian was not loath to come to terms, both for this reason and because his troops were exceedingly restive, due to their having been kept away from home an unusually long time as well as to the scarcity of food; for they had no food supplies available, either from stores previously made ready, since they do not make any such preparations, or from the country itself, inasmuch as the food either had been destroyed or else was in the forts. Macrinus, however, did not forward a full account of all their arrangements to the senate, and consequently sacrifices of victory were voted in his honour and the name of Parthicus was bestowed upon him. But this he declined, being ashamed, apparently, to take a title from an enemy by whom he had been defeated.

Moreover, the warfare carried on against the Armenian king, to which I have referred, now came to an end, after Tiridates had accepted the crown sent him by Macrinus and received back his mother (whom Tarautas had imprisoned for eleven months) together with the booty captured in Armenia, and also entertained hopes of obtaining all the territory that his father had possessed in Cappadocia as well

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[1] τε Bk., ΤΕΓΑΡ V Exc. U[B].

παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὑρίσκετο, ἐλπίσαντος
5 λήψεσθαι. οἵ τε Δάκοι λυμηνάμενοί τινα τῆς Δακίας καὶ πολεμησείοντες ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀνέσχον, τοὺς ὁμήρους, οὓς ὁ Καράκαλλος ἐν συμμαχίας λόγῳ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰλήφει, κομισάμενοι.

28 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔσχεν, πόλεμος δὲ δὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἕτερος οὐκέτ᾽ ὀθνεῖος ἀλλ᾽ ἐμφύλιος συνερράγη. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται τὸ μέν τι τοῖς πταίσμασιν ἀχθόμενοι, τὸ δὲ πλέον οὔτε πόνον οὐδένα ἔθ᾽ ἑκούσιον ὑπομένοντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς πάντα δὴ πάντως ἐκδεδιῃτημένοι, οὔτ᾽ αὐτοκράτορα οὐδένα ἐγκρατῶς σφῶν ἄρχοντα ἔχειν ἐθέλοντες, ἀλλὰ λαμβάνειν μὲν ἄπλετά τινα ἀξιοῦντες ἔργον δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἄξιον αὐτῶν ποιεῖν δικαιοῦντες, ἐταράσ-
2 σοντο. καί σφας ἥ τε τῆς μισθοφορᾶς συντομὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν γερῶν τῶν τε ἀτελειῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ὑπηρετήμασιν, ἃ παρὰ τοῦ Ταραύτου εὕρηντο, στέρησις, καίπερ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς μέλλοντάς σφων ἀπολαύσειν, ἐπιπαρώξυνεν, ἥ τε ἐν ταὐτῷ τρόπον τινὰ διατριβή, ἣν τοῦ πολέμου ἕνεκα χειμάζοντες ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐπεποίηντο, προ-
3 σεπισχύρισεν. ἔδοξεν μὲν γὰρ στρατηγικῶς πως καὶ νουνεχόντως ὁ Μακρῖνος πεποιηκέναι, τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντων μηδὲν παρελόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκέραια αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ πρὸς ἐκείνου νομισθέντα τηρήσας, τοῖς δ᾽ αὖθις στρατευσομένοις προειπὼν ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεουήρου καταδειχθεῖσιν καταλεχθήσοιντο· τού-
4 τους τε γάρ, ἅτε καὶ κατ᾽ ὀλίγους ἐς τὴν στρατιὰν ἥξοντας, τὸ[1] μὲν πρῶτον ὑπό τε τοῦ ἀμάχου

[1] τό Bk., ΚΑΙΤΟ V.

as the annual payment that had been made by the Romans. And the Dacians, after ravaging portions of Dacia and showing an eagerness for further war, now desisted, when they got back the hostages that Caracallus, under the name of an alliance, had taken from them. A.D. 218

In addition to these events, a new war burst upon the Romans, and this time not a foreign conflict but civil strife; for the soldiers were becoming turbulent. They were angered by their reverses, for one thing, but, more important still, they would no longer submit to any hardship if they could help it, but were thoroughly out of training in every respect and wanted to have no emperor who ruled them with a firm hand, but demanded that they should receive everything without limit while deigning to perform no task that was worthy of them. They were further angered by the reduction of their pay and by the withdrawal of the prizes and exemption from military duties which they had gained from Tarautas, even though they would not themselves derive any benefit from these privileges; and the long sojourn that they made in practically one and the same spot while wintering in Syria on account of the war strengthened them in their purpose. Macrinus, indeed, seemed to have shown good generalship and discretion in that he took away no privilege from the men already under arms but preserved to them intact all the privileges established by his predecessor, while at the same time he gave notice to those who intended to enlist in future that they would be enrolled on the old terms fixed by Severus. For he hoped that these new recruits, entering the army a few at a time, would refrain from rebellion, at

καὶ ὑπὸ δέους τὸ δὲ ἔπειτα ὑπό τε τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθους οὐδὲν νεοχμώσειν, καὶ τοὺς ἑτέρους, ἅτε μηδὲν ἀπολλύντας αὐτούς, ἡσυχάσειν ἤλπισεν. 29 τοῦτο δέ, εἰ μὲν ἀναχωρησάντων τε αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα τείχη καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο διασπαρέντων ἐγεγόνει, ὀρθῶς ἂν ἐπέπρακτο. ἴσως μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἠγανάκτησάν τινες αὐτῶν, πιστεύσαντες ὄντως μηδὲν αὐτοὶ ζημιωθήσεσθαι τῷ μὴ 2 παραχρῆμα αὐτὸ πεπονθέναι· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐχαλέπηναν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι πως ἕκαστοι ὄντες καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἄρχουσιν ὑποτεταγμένοι οὐδὲν ἂν μέγα κακὸν δρᾶσαι ἠδυνήθησαν. ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Συρίᾳ συνεστραμμένοι, καὶ τὸ μέν τι καὶ περὶ αὑτούς, εἰ σκεδασθεῖεν, ὑποπτεύσαντες καινοτομηθήσεσθαι (τότε γὰρ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου χρείαν κολακεύεσθαι ἐδόκουν), τὸ δὲ καὶ τῷ . . . .[1] ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ στρατιώτας τέ τινας ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας τινὰ ἐλυμήναντο, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλων συχνοὺς κατέκοψαν καὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορά σφων κατέλυσαν, καὶ ὃ τούτου δεινότερόν ἐστιν, τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἐστήσαντο ὑφ' οὗ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ[2] κακὸν καὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐγένετο.

30 Καί μοι δοκεῖ ἐναργέστατα καὶ τοῦτο, εἴπερ τι ἄλλο τῶν πώποτε, προδειχθῆναι·[3] ἡλίου τε γὰρ ἔκλειψις περιφανεστάτη ὑπὸ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ κομήτης ἐπὶ πλεῖον ὤφθη, ἕτερόν τέ τι ἄστρον ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς

[1] Lacuna recognized by Reim., ἡττῆσθαι ἐρεθισθέντες μείζω ἢ αὐτοὶ οἱ Πάρθοι κακὰ τὸ κοινὸν εἰργάσαντο supplied by Bk.
[2] οὐ Falc., ΟΙ V.
[3] προδειχθῆναι Urs., ΠΡΟΣΔΕΙΧΘΗΝΑΙ V.

first through peaceful inclination and fear, and later A.D. 218 through the influence of time and habit, and that the others, inasmuch as they were losing nothing themselves, would remain quiet. Now if this had only been done after the troops had retired to their several fortresses and were thus scattered, it would have been a wise measure. For perhaps some of them would not have felt any indignation at all, believing that they were really not going to suffer the loss of any privileges themselves, inasmuch as they had experienced nothing of the sort immediately; and even if they had been vexed, yet, each body being few in number and under the command of the governors sent out by the senate, they could have done no great harm. But, united as they now were in Syria, they suspected, on the one hand, that innovations would be made affecting them, too, if they should once be scattered (for they thought they were being pampered for the time being on account of the demands of the war), and, again, [they were exasperated because of their defeat; and thus they caused greater harm to the State than the Parthians themselves (?)]. For, while the Parthians killed a few soldiers and ravaged portions of Mesopotamia, these men cut down many of their own number and also overthrew their emperor; and, what is still worse than that, they set up a successor just like him, one by whom nothing was done that was not evil and base.

It seems to me that this also had been indicated in advance as clearly as any event that ever happened. For a very distinct eclipse of the sun occurred just before that time and the comet was seen for a considerable period; also another star, whose tail

τὸ ἀκροφύσιον ἐπὶ πολλὰς νύκτας ἀνατεῖνον δεινῶς ἡμᾶς ἐξετάραττεν, ὥστε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου διὰ στόματος ἀεὶ ποιεῖσθαι

ἀμφὶ δ' ἐσάλπιγξεν μέγας οὐρανός, ἄϊε δὲ Ζεύς.

ἐπράχθη δὲ ὧδε.

2 Ἡ Μαῖσα ἡ τῆς Ἰουλίας τῆς Αὐγούστης ἀδελφὴ δύο τε θυγατέρας, Σοαιμίδα καὶ Μαμαίαν, ἐξ Ἰουλίου Ἀουίτου[1] ἀνδρὸς ὑπατευκότος, καὶ δύο ἐγγόνους ἄρσενας, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Σοαιμίδος Οὐαρίου τε Μαρκέλλου, ἀνδρὸς ὁμοεθνοῦς (ἐξ Ἀπαμείας[2] γὰρ ἧς ἐκεῖνος ἦν) καὶ ἔν τε ἐπιτροπαῖς ἐξετασθέντος καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσγραφέντος καὶ μετὰ 3 τοῦτο τελευτήσαντος, Ἀουῖτον,[3] ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μαμαίας Γεσσίου τε Μαρκιανοῦ, Σύρου τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξ Ἄρκης πόλεως ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτροπείας τινὰς προσταχθέντος, Βασσιανὸν ἔχουσα—αὕτη οὖν οἴκοι ἐν τῇ Ἐμέσῃ τὴν δίαιταν ν . . . . . ., τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἰουλίας ᾗ παρὰ πάντα τὸν τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς χρόνον 4 συνεγεγόνει, διολομένης. ὁ γὰρ Ἀουῖτος παρὰ μὲν τοῦ Καρακάλλου ἐς Κύπρον ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας μετὰ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχὴν πεμφθεὶς κληρωτῷ τινὶ σύνεδρος ὑπό τε γήρως καὶ ὑπ' ἀρρωστίας ἔφθη[4] συναιρούμενος· τὰ δὲ του . . αυ . . . . | αὐτοῦ, ἐπ . . . . |

31 ἐτελεύτησεν, Εὐτυχιανός τις ἔν τε ἀθύρμασι καὶ ἐν γυμνασίοις ἀρέσας καὶ διὰ ταῦτα . . . . | θείς, ὃς αὐτο . . . . | τας ἐμ-

[1] Ἀουίτου Bs., τοῦ Ἀουίτου Sauppe, ΤΟΥ V.
[2] Ἀπαμείας Urs., ΑΠΑΜΙΑΣ V.
[3] Ἀουῖτον Bk., ΑΟΥΕΙΤΟΥ V.

extended from the west to the east for several nights, caused us terrible alarm, so that this verse of Homer's was ever on our lips: A.D. 218

> "Rang the vast welkin with clarion calls, and Zeus heard the tumult."[1]

These things came about in the following manner.

Maesa, the sister of Julia Augusta, had two daughters, Soaemis[2] and Mamaea, by her husband Julius Avitus, an ex-consul. She had also two grandsons. One was Avitus, the son of Soaemis and Varius Marcellus, a man of the same race (for he was from Apamea, her own native city), who had held various procuratorships and had been enrolled in the senate, and later had died. The other was Bassianus, the son of Mamaea and Gessius Marcianus, who was also a Syrian from the city of Arca, and had been appointed to various procuratorships. Maesa was living at home in Emesa, now that her sister Julia, with whom she had lived during the entire period of the latter's reign, had perished. For Avitus, who after his governorship of Asia had been sent by Caracallus from Mesopotamia to Cyprus as adviser to a governor appointed by the senate, had died from old age and sickness. But . . the . . . . of him . . . . . . died, a certain Eutychianus, who had given people pleasure in amusements and gymnastic exercises, and for that reason . . . . who . . . .

[1] Hom., *Il.* xxi. 388.

[2] This is the spelling of Dio and Herodian, in place of the more common form Soaemias.

[4] ἔφθη Bs., ΩΦΘΗ V.

μελε . . . . | ας ἐπὶ του . . . . | νων αυτω . . . . | προσωνομ . . . . τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὸν Μακρῖνον ἀπέχθειαν συνιδών (. . . . . . | τε γὰρ οὐ πο . . . . | σεων πολ . . . . | καὶ οἱ τὸ τρ . . . . | κον τεῖχος . . . . | ποτε προ . . . .) καί τι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ‖ Ἡλίου, ὃν Ἐλεγάβαλον ἐπικαλοῦσι καὶ μεγάλως θρησκεύουσιν,
2 ἄλλων τέ τινων μαντειῶν ἀναπεισθείς, ἐπεχείρησε τόν τε Μακρῖνον καθελεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἀουῖτον τὸν τῆς Μαίσης ἔγγονον[1] αὐτοκράτορα, καίπερ παιδίον ἔτι ὄντα, ἀντικαταστῆσαι, καὶ κατειργάσατο ἑκάτερον· καίτοι αὐτός τε οὐδέπω πάνυ ἐς ἄνδρας
3 ἐτέλει, καὶ συνεργοὺς ὀλίγους εἶχεν ἐξελευθέρους καὶ στρατιώτας εξ . . . . τέλους βουλευτάς τε Ἐμεσηνοὺς . . . . ροσ . . . . . τοῦ τε γὰρ Ταραύτου υἱὸν αὐτὸν μοιχίδιον εἶναι πλασάμενος, καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ ἐκείνου, ᾗ ποτὲ ἐν παισὶν ἐχρῆτο, κοσμήσας. αιταραυτηι . . . . τῶν βασιλι | . . . . ατων τῶν | . . . . συναλλετο | . . . . ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτός,
4 μήτε τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ μήτε τῆς τήθης ἐπισταμένης, ἐσήγαγε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ τῆς τοῦ Μαΐου ἑκκαιδεκάτης, γλιχομένους τινὰ ἀφορμὴν ἐπαναστάσεως λαβεῖν, ἀνέπεισε νεοχμῶσαι. μαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ ἔπαρχος (ἔτυχεν γὰρ οὐ πόρρω ἀπών) ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ θυγατέρα τοῦ Μαρκιανοῦ γαμβρόν τε ἐφόνευσεν,
34, 1[1] κἀκ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀθροίσας τινὰς ὡς

[1] ἔγγονον Urs., ΕΓΟΝΟΝ V.

. . . . A.D. 218
. . . .
. . . . and becoming aware of the strong dislike of the soldiers for Macrinus . . . . (for both . . . . not . . . . and the . . . . camp (?) . . . . ever . . . .) and partly persuaded by the Sun-god, whom they call Elagabalus[1] and worship devotedly, and also by some other oracular utterances, he undertook to overthrow Macrinus and to set up as emperor in his stead Avitus, Maesa's grandson, who was still a mere boy. And he accomplished both purposes, though he himself had not as yet fully reached manhood, and though he had as helpers only a few freedmen and soldiers and six (?) [men of the equestrian] order and senators of Emesa . . . . pretending that he was a natural son of Tarautas and dressing him in clothing which the latter had worn as a child. . . . . . .
. . . .
. . . . and brought him into the camp at night, without the knowledge of either his mother or his grandmother, and at dawn on the sixteenth of May persuaded the soldiers, who were eager to get an excuse for an uprising, to revolt. Julianus, the prefect, on learning of this (for he happened to be at no great distance) slew both a daughter and son-in-law of Marcianus, along with some others, and then, after collecting as many of the remaining soldiers as he could in the short time at his disposal,

[1] This deity, whose worship centred in Emesa, was identified by the Greeks and Romans with the Sun-god, hence the form 'Ἡλιογάβαλος (Heliogabalus); in Rome he was officially styled *Deus Sol Elagabalus* or *Invictus Sol Elagabalus*.

δι' ὀλίγου προσέμειξεν ὡς καὶ πολεμιωτάτῳ 32 τείχει. δυνηθεὶς δ' ἂν αὐτὸ αὐθημερὸν λαβεῖν (οἱ γὰρ Μαῦροι οἱ τῷ Ταραύτᾳ κατὰ τὸ συμμαχικὸν πεμφθέντες προθυμότατα ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μακρίνου, ἅτε καὶ ὁμοεθνοῦς σφίσιν ὄντος, ἠγωνίσαντο, ὥστε καὶ πύλας τινὰς διαρρῆξαι) οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, εἴτ' οὖν φοβηθεὶς ἐσδραμεῖν, εἴτε καὶ 2 ἐλπίσας ἑκόντας τοὺς ἔνδον παραστήσεσθαι. ὡς δ' οὔτε τις αὐτῷ ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, καὶ προσέτι τὰς πύλας πάσας τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπῳκοδόμησαν ὥστε ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ εἶναι, προσέβαλεν μὲν αὖθις αὐτοῖς, ἐπέρανε δ' οὐδέν. τόν τε γὰρ Ἀουῖτον, ὃν Μᾶρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνῖνον ἤδη προσηγόρευον, περιφέροντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ εἰκόνας τινὰς τοῦ Καρακάλλου παιδικὰς ὡς καὶ 3 προσφερεῖς αὐτῷ ἀποδεικνύντες, παῖδά τε ὄντως αὐτὸν ἐκείνου καὶ διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι λέγοντες, καὶ "τί ταῦτα, ὦ συστρατιῶται, ποιεῖτε[1]; τί δὲ οὕτω τῷ τοῦ[2] εὐεργέτου ὑμῶν υἱεῖ μάχεσθε;" ἐκβοῶντες, πάντας τοὺς σὺν τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ στρατιώτας, ἄλλως τε καὶ προθύμως πρὸς τὸ νεωτεροποιεῖν ἔχοντας, διέφθειραν, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐπιτεταγμένους σφίσιν πλὴν τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ (διέδρα γάρ) ἀποκτεῖναι, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ[3] 4 τά τε ὅπλα τῷ Ψευδαντωνίνῳ παραδοῦναι. κατεχομένους γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπό τε τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπομειόνων, κἀκ τούτου διαμέλ-

he attacked the camp as if it had been the most hostile fortress. And though he might have captured it that very day (for the Moors who had been sent to Tarautas in fulfilment of the terms of the alliance fought most valiantly for Macrinus, as he was a fellow-countryman of theirs, and even broke through some of the gates), yet he refused the opportunity, either because he was afraid to rush in or because he expected to be able to induce the men inside to surrender voluntarily. When, however, no one made overtures to him and they furthermore built up all the gates during the night, so that they were now in a more secure position, he again attacked them, but accomplished nothing. For they carried Avitus, whom they were already styling Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, round about upon the ramparts, and exhibited some likenesses of Caracallus when a child as bearing some resemblance to the boy, at the same time declaring that the latter was truly Caracallus' son, and the only rightful heir to the throne. "Why do you do this, fellow-soldiers?" they exclaimed, "Why do you thus fight against your benefactor's son?" By this means they corrupted all the soldiers who were with Julianus, the more so as these were eager to revolt, so that the assailants slew their commanders, with the exception of Julianus, who escaped in flight, and surrendered themselves and their arms to the False Antoninus. For when an attempt to restrain them was made by their centurions and the other under-officers and

A.D. 218

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[1] ποιεῖτε Urs., ΠΟΙΕΙΤΑΙ V.
[2] τῷ τοῦ Bk., ΤΟΥΤΕ V.
[3] δέ supplied by Bk.

λοντας, ὁ Εὐτυχιανὸς † τὸν Φῆστον,[1] κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ταραύτου πρόκοιτον ἀντωνομάσθη, ἔπεισεν † ἀποσφάξαι πάντας ἐκείνους, ἆθλόν[2] σφισι τὴν τοῦ τεθνήξοντος ἑκάστῳ[3] οὐσίαν τε καὶ χώραν ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ προθείς· καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐδημηγόρησεν ὑπόβλητα, τόν τε πατέρα ἤδη ἐπαινῶν, καὶ τὸν Μακρῖνον ὡς ‖ . . . .

[14 *lines are completely lacking.*]

. . . .

33 . . . . | . αρ . . . .
. . . . | καιν . . . . | τομ . . . . . .
. . . . . | νατων . . . . | λιτι . . . . .
. . . . . | μισθο . . . . | ἐπὶ μηδ . . .
. . . . . | ματι το . . . . | δεδικα . . . .
. . . . | εισχε . . . . | τιαν η κα . . .
. . λελοιπότας ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν οὐσίαν τε καὶ ἐπιτιμίαν ἐπαναχθῆναι. ᾧ μέντοι μάλιστα 2 αὐτοὺς ἀνηρτήσατο, . . . ἕκαστον . . . . δώσειν . . . . ὑπέσχετο καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας κατάξειν ὡς καὶ ἐκ τούτου γνήσιος ἔκγονος τοῦ Ταραύτου εἶναι δόξων. . . . . | τα γε κ . . . . | παρανο . . . . | ειγε εκ . . . . ‖ . . . .

[14 *lines are lacking.*]

. . . .
| . . . . νο | . . . .
μη | . . . . ιτη | . . . .

[1] Φῆστον—ἔπεισεν corrupt; τὸν Φῆστον <προσπέμψας (οὕτω δὲ τῶν Καισαρείων τις> κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ταραύτου πρόκοιτον ἀντωνομάσθη) ἔπεισεν suggested by Bs.

they were consequently hesitating, Eutychianus sent A.D. 218 Festus (for thus one of the imperial freedmen had been named after the cubicularius of Tarautas)[1] and persuaded them to kill all those officers, offering as a prize to each soldier who should slay his man the victim's property and his position in the army. The boy also harangued them from the wall with words that had been put into his mouth, praising his father, as he already styled him, and . . Macrinus as

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. . . .

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. . . . [those who had been] sentenc[ed]

. . . .

. . . . [those who had de]serted [the ar]my . . . to be restored to their original property and civil status. But the most effective means by which he attached them to himself was his promise to give each . . . and to restore the exiles, an act which was calculated to make him appear in truth a legitimate descendant of Tarautas.

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[1] The translation follows Boissevain's conjecture; see critical note.

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[2] ἆθλόν Bs., ΔΟΛΟΝ V, δῶρον Leuncl.
[3] ἑκάστῳ supplied by Leuncl.

κιανω | . . . . *τω* | . . . .

34, 1[2] *Μακρῖνον* | . . . . *μενω* . . | (*ὁ γὰρ Μάρκελλος ἐτεθνήκει*), *τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀτολμήσας περαιτέρω χωρὶς τοῦ* 2 *Μακρίνου προχωρῆσαι μετεπέμψατο αὐτόν. καὶ ὃς ἔς τε τὴν Ἀπάμειαν ἐς τοὺς Ἀλβανίους στρατιώτας διὰ ταχέων ἦλθε, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοκράτορα, καίπερ δέκατον ἔτος ἄγοντα, ἀπέδειξεν, ὅπως ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ πεντακισχιλίων δραχμῶν* 3 *ὑποσχέσει τιθασεύσῃ· καὶ παραυτίκα τε αὐτοῖς κατὰ χιλίας ἔνειμε, τήν τε τροφὴν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐντελῆ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλ' ἃ ἀφῄρητο αὐτούς, ἀποκατέστησεν, ἐλπίζων σφᾶς διὰ τούτων ἱλεώσεσθαι. κἀκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης αἰτίας καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δεῖπνον κατὰ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἔνειμε πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν περὶ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτοῖς διαδηλῶσαι, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἐκείνην ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν τοῦ υἱέος τιμὴν ἑστιᾶν αὐτοὺς νομισθείη.* 4 *καὶ αὐτῷ ταῦτα πράττοντι*[1] *στρατιώτης τις τῶν ἀφεστηκότων προσῆλθεν, τὴν τοῦ*[2] *Ἰουλιανοῦ κεφαλήν* (*εὑρέθη γὰρ κεκρυμμένος που καὶ ἐσφάγη*) *κομίζων ἐν ὀθονίοις πολλοῖς ἰσχυρῶς σφόδρα σχοινίοις καταδεδεμένην ὡς καὶ τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου οὖσαν· καὶ γὰρ τῷ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ δακτυλίῳ* 5 *ἐσεσήμαντο. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτο ποιήσας ἐξέδρα ἐν ᾧ ἐκείνη ἐξεκαλύπτετο· γνοὺς δ' ὁ Μακρῖνος τὸ πεπραγμένον οὐκέτ' ἐτόλμησεν οὔτε κατὰ χώραν μεῖναι οὔτε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος προσελάσαι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατὰ τάχος ἀνεκομίσθη.*

[1] *πράττοντι* Bk., ΠΡΩΤΟΝ V.

[Mar]cianus . . . . A.D. 218
. . . . Macrinus . . . (for Marcellus was dead), he put this man to death; but, lacking courage to proceed further on his own responsibility without Macrinus, he sent for the emperor. So Macrinus came speedily to the Alban troops at Apamea and appointed his son emperor, though the boy was only in his tenth year, in order that he might have this as an excuse for courting the favour of the soldiers in various ways, especially by the promise of twenty thousand sesterces apiece; and he distributed to them four thousand apiece on the spot, and also restored to the others their full rations and everything else of which he had previously deprived them, hoping to appease them by these measures. With this same end in view, he bestowed on the populace a dinner costing six hundred sesterces per man, before revealing to them anything about the uprising; for he wished it to be thought that he was banqueting them, not because of that situation, but to show honour to his son. While he was thus engaged, one of the revolted soldiers approached him carrying the head of Julianus (who had been found somewhere in hiding and slain) wrapped in many cloths and tied up very firmly with cords, pretending that it was the head of the False Antoninus,—in fact, it was sealed with the signet-ring of Julianus; then the soldier ran out while the head was being uncovered. Macrinus, on discovering the truth of the matter, no longer dared either to remain where he was or to make an assault upon the camp, but returned to Antioch with all

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[2] τοῦ supplied by Urs.

καὶ οὕτως οἵ τε Ἀλβάνιοι[1] οἵ τε ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία χειμάζοντες προσαπέστησαν. 6 καὶ οἱ μὲν τά τε ἄλλα ἀντιπαρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ ἀντέπεμπον ἔς τε τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα ἀγγέλους καὶ γράμματα, ἀφ' ὧν πολλαχόθι πρός τε τὴν πρώτην ἑκατέρου περὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου πέμψιν καὶ πρὸς τὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ διαφόρους ἀλλήλαις 7 ἀγγελίας ἐταράχθησαν· κἀκ τούτου συχνοὶ μὲν καὶ τῶν γραμματοφόρων ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐφθάρησαν, συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν θανατωσάντων τοὺς Ἀντωνινείους ἢ καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα αὐτοῖς προσθεμένων αἰτίαν ἔσχον, καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ ἀπώλοντο διὰ τοῦτο, οἱ δ' 8 ἄλλο τι ὦφλον. ὧν[2] ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα (ὁμοιοτροπώτατά τε γάρ ἐστιν καὶ οὐδὲν μέγα λεπτολογηθέντα ἔχει) παρήσω, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενα κεφαλαιώσας ἐρῶ.

35 Ἦρχεν μὲν αὐτῆς ὁ Βασιλιανός, ὃν καὶ ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ χώραν ἔπαρχον ὁ Μακρῖνος ἐπεποιήκει, διῆγεν δέ τινα καὶ Μάριος Σεκοῦνδος, καίπερ βουλευτής τε ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου γεγονὼς καὶ[3] τῆς Φοινίκης προστατῶν· καὶ ἦσαν κατὰ ταῦτα ἀμφότεροι αὐτῷ προσκείμενοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου δρομοκήρυκας 2 ἀπέκτειναν. μέχρι μὲν δὴ οὖν ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν, μετέωροι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἵ τε ἰδιῶται ἦσαν, οἱ μέν τινες αὐτῶν ταῦτα οἱ δὲ ἐκεῖνα κατὰ τὸ[4] στασιωτικὸν καὶ βουλόμενοι καὶ εὐχόμενοι καὶ διαθρυλοῦντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἥττης τοῦ Μακρίνου ἀγγελία ἀφίκετο, στάσις ἰσχυρὰ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ τε δήμου πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν

[1] Ἀλβάνιοι Falc., ΑΛΒΙΝΙΟΙ V. [2] ὧν Rk., ΩΣ V.
[3] καί Leuncl., Ο V. [4] τό supplied by Leuncl.

speed. Accordingly, both the Alban legion and the A.D. 218 other troops that were wintering in that region also revolted. And now each side was making its preparations against the other and sending rival messengers and letters to the provinces and to the legions, in consequence of which no little perturbation was caused in many places by the first communication of each side about the other and by the constant messages that contradicted one another. Thus it came about that many of the couriers on both sides lost their lives and many of those who had slain the adherents of Antoninus or had not immediately attached themselves to their cause were accused, some losing their lives in consequence and others incurring other penalties. Most of the incidents I shall omit, as they are all very much alike and their details have no particular importance; but I will mention in summary fashion the course of events in Egypt.

The governor of Egypt was Basilianus, whom Macrinus had also made prefect in place of Julianus. Some interests were also managed by Marius Secundus, although he had been appointed senator by Macrinus and was at the head of affairs in Phoenicia. In this way both of them were attached to Macrinus and consequently they put to death the couriers of the False Antoninus. As long, now, as affairs remained in uncertainty, both they and the soldiers, and also the civilians, were likewise in suspense, some of them wishing, praying for, and reporting one thing, and others the opposite, as always happens in factional strife. But when the news of Macrinus' defeat arrived, violent strife broke out in which many of the populace and not a few of the soldiers

3 στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι διώλοντο, ὅ τε Σεκοῦνδος ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ ἔπεσε, καὶ ὁ Βασιλιανὸς φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐν χερσὶν ἀπόληται ἔκ τε τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐξέδρα, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὴν περὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐλθὼν ἐφωράθη, προδοθεὶς ὑπὸ φίλου τινός, ᾧ[1] ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὄντι κρύφα προσέπεμψεν τροφὴν αἰτῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἀναχθείς, ἐσφάγη.

36 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Μακρῖνος ἔγραψε μὲν καὶ τῇ βουλῇ περὶ τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἑκασταχόθι ἄρχουσι, παιδίον τέ τι ἀποκαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔμπληκτον εἶναι λέγων, ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τῷ Μαξίμῳ τῷ πολιάρχῳ τά τε ἄλλα οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν, καὶ ὅτι οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ οἱ νεωστὶ κατειλεγμένοι πάνθ' ὅσα καὶ πρὶν εἶχον λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῦσιν, καὶ κοινὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐ διδομένοις σφίσιν ὀργὴν καὶ οἱ

2 ἄλλοι οἱ μηδενὸς ἐστερημένοι ποιοῦνται. καὶ ἵνα γέ τις ἄλλα ὅσα παρά τε τοῦ Σεουήρου καὶ τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ πρὸς διαφθορὰν τῆς ἀκριβοῦς στρατείας εὕρηντο παραλίπῃ, οὔτε δίδοσθαί σφισι τὴν μισθοφορὰν τὴν ἐντελῆ πρὸς ταῖς ἐπιφοραῖς,

3 ἃς ἐλάμβανον, οἷόν τε εἶναι ἔφη (ἐς γὰρ ἑπτακισχιλίας μυριάδας ἐτησίους τὴν αὔξησιν αὐτῆς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ταραύτου γενομένην τείνειν) οὔτε μὴ δίδοσθαι, τοῦ|το μὲν ὅτι ο . . . . |ται ἐκεῖνο δ . . . . | δικαίων πο . . . . | ἀλλὰ τὰ νεν . . . . | ἀναλώματα α . . . . | . αἱ τὸ μὲν σ . . . .

4 | τε δημοσιο . . . . | στρατιωτικ . . . . | μενον καὶ ο . . . . | ἀπολουμεν . . . . | δυνηθη αὐ . . . . .

[1] ᾧ Urs., ΩΝ, V.

perished. Secundus was at his wits' end; and A.D. 218 Basilianus, fearing that he should lose his life at once, fled from Egypt, but, after reaching the neighbourhood of Brundisium in Italy, he was discovered, having been betrayed by a friend in Rome to whom he had sent secretly asking for food. He was later taken back to Nicomedeia and slain.

Macrinus wrote also to the senate about the False Antoninus in the same strain as he did to the governors everywhere, calling him a boy and claiming that he was mad. He wrote a letter also to Maximus, the prefect of the city, in which, after mentioning various matters of a routine nature, he stated that even the newly-enlisted soldiers insisted on receiving everything that the others had been getting, and that these others, who had not been deprived of anything, made common cause with the new recruits in their anger at what was being withheld from them. And, to omit a recital, he said, of all the many means devised by Severus and his son for the undermining of military discipline, it was impossible, on the one hand, to give the troops their full pay in addition to the donatives that they were receiving (for the increase in their pay granted by Tarautas amounted to two hundred and eighty million sesterces annually), and impossible, on the other hand, not to give it, partly because . . . . that . . . . just . . . . but the cus[tomary] expenditures . . . . and the public . . . . military . . . . ruin . . . . could . . . .

. . . . . | παῖς ὡς αυτ . . . . | τ' ἐφ' ἑαυτω . . . . | ἑαυτὸν ἐπ . . . . καὶ ὅτι καὶ υἱὸν εἶχε κατωδύρατο ἑαυτόν, παραμύθιον τῆς συμφορᾶς ἔχειν ἔφη ὅτι τῷ ἀδελφοφόνῳ τῷ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπολέσαι 5 ἐπιχειρήσαντι ἐπεβίω. ἔπειτα[1] καὶ τοιόνδε τι προσενέγραψεν, ὅτι "πολλοὺς οἶδα μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμοῦντας αὐτοκράτορα[2] σφαγῆναι ἢ αὐτοὺς βιῶναι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγω, ὅτι τις ἢ ἐπιθυμήσειεν ἂν ἢ εὔξαιτό με ἀπολέσθαι." ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ Φούλουιος Διογενιανὸς ἐξεβόησεν ὅτι "πάντες εὐξάμεθα."

37 Οὗτος δ' ἦν μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων, σφόδρα δ' οὐ φρενήρης, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἤρεσκεν. οὗτος καὶ τ . . . . | τὸ ὑπόγραμμα . . . . | ἐπιστολη . . . . | σαυτος ὅτ . . . . καὶ πρὸς τὸ . . . . || . . . . ς διφθέριον . . . . ραπτο ἀναγνῶναι | . . . . σατο κἀκεῖνα | . . . . θηναι καὶ ην | . . . . ς ἄλλα τε καὶ | . . . . σπεμφθείη | . . . . ἄντικρυς ὡς | . . . . μοσιευθη | . . . . τα κατοκνῶν | . . . . ερ κελεύσας | 2 . . . . ωθῆναι τῷ | . . . . καὶ ἄλλοις τε | . . . . πρώτων τοῖς | . . . . υσαν ἐπιστη | . . . . υ κοιι οῦ σω | . . . . . . όνοιάν τινα | . . . . ους τονδε | . . . . ων γραμμα | . . . . ων ἐπὶ πλει | . . . . ον

[1] ἔπειτα supplied by Bk., om. Xiph.

. . . . . . boy as . . . . and upon A.D. 218
himself . . . . himself . . . .
. . . . and he bewailed his lot in that he had a son, but said that he found it a solace in his misfortune to have outlived the fratricide who had attempted to destroy the whole world. Then he added in his letter something to the following effect: "I realize that there are many who are more eager to see an emperor killed than they are to live themselves. But this I do not say with reference to myself, that anyone could either desire or pray that I should perish." At which Fulvius Diogenianus exclaimed: "We have all prayed for it."

The man just mentioned was one of the ex-consuls, but decidedly not of sound mind, and consequently he gave little satisfaction either to himself or to anyone else. He also . . . .
. . . . the subscription . . . . letter
. . . .
and to the . . . .
leather . . . . to read . . . .
. . . . and those . . . .
. . . . both others and . . . .
. . . be sent to . . . . directly
. . . . published . . . .
hesitating . . . . having ordered
. . . . and
both to others . . . . foremost to the . . . . .
. . . . any care
for the common pre[server] . . . .
this . . . . letter (?) . . . . . .
. . . .

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2 αὐτοκράτορα Leuncl., αὐτοκράτορας Xiph., cut off in V.

ὅτι ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος εὑρὼν | . . ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μακρίνου κιβωτίοις μηδέπω | . . . . α αὐτὸς ἑκὼν | . . . . ἐξέφηνεν | . . . . α διαβολὴν | . . . . πρὸς τοὺς
3 στρατιώτας ποιούμενος. οὕτω δὲ ταχέως ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλασεν ὥστε χαλεπῶς τὸν Μακρῖνον ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων, ἑκατόν τε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους ἀπεχούσῃ,
4 συμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ. ἔνθα δὴ τῇ μὲν προθυμίᾳ τῇ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐκράτησεν (τούς τε γὰρ θώρακας τοὺς λεπιδωτοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰς σωληνοειδεῖς ἀφελόμενος αὐτῶν κουφοτέρους σφᾶς ἐς τὰς μάχας ἐπεποιήκει), τῇ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ δειλίᾳ ἡττήθη, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ προεδή-
5 λωσεν. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐν ᾗ τὰ πρῶτα αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς γράμματα ἡμῖν ἀνεγνώσθη, περιστερά τις ἐπὶ εἰκόνα Σεουήρου, οὗ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐτέθειτο, ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀνακειμένην ἐπέπτατο· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὅτε τὰ περὶ τοῦ υἱέος ἔπεμψεν, οὔτε ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων οὔθ' ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν συνήλθομεν (οὐ γὰρ ἔτυχον παρόντες) ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ
6 τρόπον τινὰ ἤδη κατελέλυτο. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς προοιμίῳ, καίτοι καὶ Καίσαρα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ὀνομάσας, καὶ τὰ γραφέντα ὡς καὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐπισταλέντα προδηλώσας, ἐνέγραψεν· ἔν τε τῇ διηγήσει τῶν πεπραγμένων τῆς μὲν τοῦ Διαδουμενιανοῦ προσηγορίας ἐπεμνήσθη, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου, καίπερ ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ταύτην,
38 παρέλιπεν.[1] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχεν, καὶ νὴ Δία

[1] παρέλιπεν Bk., ΠΑΡΕΛΕΙΠΕΝ V.

because the False Antoninus, having found . in the chests of Macrinus not yet . . . . he himself voluntarily . . . . . . published . . . . calumny . . . . . making with reference to the soldiers. And he marched so rapidly against him that Macrinus could only with difficulty engage him at a village of the Antiochians, twenty-four miles distant from the city. There, so far as the zeal of the Pretorians went, he conquered (he had taken away their breastplates of scale-armour and their grooved shields and had thus rendered them lighter for battle); but he was defeated by his own cowardice, as indeed Heaven had foreshown to him. For on that day when his first letter about the imperial office had been read to us a pigeon had alighted on an image of Severus (whose name he had applied to himself) that stood in the senate-chamber; and later, when he sent the communication about his son, we had convened, not at the bidding of the consuls or the praetors (for they did not happen to be present), but of the tribunes,—a practice which in the course of time had fallen largely into disuse. Furthermore, he had not even written his son's name in the preface to the letter, though he termed him both Caesar and emperor and made it clear at the outset that the contents emanated from them both; and in his recital of events he mentioned the name Diadumenianus, but left out that of Antoninus, though the boy had this title, too. So much for these matters. And what was more, when he sent

A.D. 218

καὶ ὅτε περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου ἐπαναστάσεως ἐπέστειλεν, εἶπον μέν τινα οἱ ὕπατοι κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γίγνεσθαι, εἶπεν δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τις τῶν τε δημάρχων ἕτερος· καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν τῷ τε[1] ἀνεψιῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς μητράσι τῇ τε τήθῃ πόλεμος[2] ἐπηγγέλθη καὶ ἐπεκηρύχθη, τοῖς δὲ συνεπαναστᾶσιν αὐτῷ ἄδεια ἂν γνωσιμαχήσωσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Μακρῖνος
2 αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχητο, ἐδόθη. καὶ γὰρ ἃ διελέχθη τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀνεγνώσθη, ἐξ ὧν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν ταπεινότητα καὶ τὴν μωρίαν αὐτοῦ πάντες κατέγνωμεν· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ἑαυτὸν μὲν πατέρα τὸν δὲ Διαδουμενιανὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ[3] συνεχέστατα ἀπεκάλει, καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου διέβαλλε, πολὺ νεώτερον αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀποφήνας.

3 Ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ μάχῃ ὁ μὲν Γάννυς καὶ τὰ στενὰ τὰ πρὸ τῆς κώμης σπουδῇ προκατέλαβε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εὐπολέμως διέταξεν, καίτοι καὶ ἀπειρότατος τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ὢν καὶ ἐν τρυφῇ βεβιωκώς· οὕτω που μέγα ἡ[4] τύχη πρὸς πάντα ἁπλῶς προφέρει, ὥστε καὶ ἐπιστήμας τοῖς
4 ἀγνοοῦσιν[5] αὐτὴν χαρίζεσθαι. τὸ δὲ δὴ στράτευμα αὐτοῦ ἀσθενέστατα ἠγωνίσατο, καὶ εἴ γε μὴ ἥ τε Μαῖσα καὶ ἡ Σοαιμίς[6] (συνῆσαν γὰρ ἤδη τῷ παιδίῳ) ἀπό τε τῶν ὀχημάτων καταπηδήσασαι καὶ ἐς τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐσπεσοῦσαι ἐπέσχον αὐτοὺς τῆς φυγῆς ὀδυρόμεναι, καὶ ἐκεῖνο

[1] τε supplied by Bs.
[2] πόλεμος Bk., ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣΤΕ V.
[3] αὐτοῦ Reim., αὐτοῦ Xiph., ΑΥΤΩΙ V.
[4] μέγα ἡ Bs., ΜΕΓΑΛΗ V.

word about the uprising of the False Antoninus, the consuls uttered certain formulae against the usurper, as is regularly done in such cases, and one of the praetors and one of the tribunes did the same. War was declared and solemnly proclaimed against not only the usurper and his cousin but also against their mothers and their grandmother, and immunity was granted to those who had joined him in the uprising, in case of their submission, even as Macrinus had promised them. For his remarks to the soldiers were read; and because of them we all condemned still more strongly his abasement and his folly. In particular, he constantly called himself "father" and Diadumenianus his "son," and he kept holding up to reproach the youth of the False Antoninus, though he had appointed as emperor his own son, who was much younger. A.D. 218

Now in the battle Gannys made haste to occupy the pass in front of the village and drew up his troops in good order for fighting, in spite of the fact that he was utterly without experience in military affairs and had spent his life in luxury. But of such great assistance is good fortune in all situations alike that it actually bestows understanding upon the ignorant. His army, however, made a very weak fight, and the men would never have stood their ground, had not Maesa and Soaemis, who were already with the boy, leaped down from their chariots and rushing among the fleeing men restrained them from further flight by their lamentations, and had not the lad himself been seen by them

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[5] ἀγνοοῦσιν Leuncl., ΓΝΟΥΣΙΝ V.
O

[6] Σοαιμὶς Reim., ΕΒΑΙΜΙΣ V (O by V²).

σπασάμενον τὸ ξιφίδιον, ὃ παρέζωστο, ὤφθη σφίσιν ἐπὶ ἵππου θείᾳ τινὶ φορᾷ ὡς καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐλάσον,[1] οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἔστησαν. καὶ ὣς δ' ἂν αὖθις[2] ἐτράποντο, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μακρῖνος ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς ἀνθισταμένους ἔφυγεν.

39 Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως τῇ Ἰουνίου[3] ὀγδόῃ ἡττηθεὶς τὸν μὲν υἱὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον τὸν τῶν Πάρθων βασιλέα διά τε τοῦ Ἐπαγάθου καὶ δι' ἄλλων τινῶν ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν 2 ὡς καὶ νενικηκώς, ὅπως καταδεχθῇ, ἐσελθών, ἔπειτα διαγγελθείσης τῆς ἥττης αὐτοῦ, καὶ φόνων ἐκ τούτου[4] πολλῶν κἀν ταῖς ὁδοῖς κἀν τῇ πόλει, ὥς που καὶ εὐνοίας ἑκατέρῳ[5] τις αὐτῶν εἶχε, γιγνομένων, ἀπέδρα καὶ ἐκεῖθεν νυκτὸς ἐπὶ ἵππων, τήν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ γένειον πᾶν ξυράμενος, καὶ ἐσθῆτα φαιὰν κατὰ τῆς ἁλουργοῦς, 3 ἵν' ὅτι μάλιστα ἰδιώτῃ τινὶ ἐοίκῃ, λαβών. καὶ οὕτω μετ' ὀλίγων ἐς[6] Αἰγὰς τῆς Κιλικίας ἐλθών, ὀχημάτων τε ἐνταῦθα ὡς καὶ στρατιώτης τις τῶν ἀγγελιαφόρων ὢν ἐπέβη, καὶ διεξήλασε διὰ τῆς Καππαδοκίας καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς τε Βιθυνίας μέχρι Ἐριβώλου τοῦ ἐπινείου τοῦ κατ' ἀντιπέρας τῆς τῶν Νικομηδέων πόλεως ὄντος, γνώμην ἔχων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναδραμεῖν ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖ παρά τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου 4 βοηθείας τινὸς τευξόμενος. καὶ εἴπερ ἐπεφεύγει, πάντως ἄν τι κατείργαστο· ἡ γὰρ εὔνοιά σφων

[1] ἐλάσον Xiph., ΕΛΑΣΑΝ V.
[2] αὖθις Urs., ΑΥΤΗΣ V, πάλιν Xiph.
[3] Ἰουνίου Reim., ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ V.
[4] τούτου Xiph., ΤΟΥΤΩΝ V.
[5] ἑκατέρῳ Xiph., ΕΚΑΤΕΡΟΥ V.

dashing along on horseback, with drawn sword,—that A.D. 218 same sword with which he had girded himself,—in a headlong rush that seemed divinely inspired, as if about to charge the enemy. Even so they would again have turned their backs, had not Macrinus fled when he saw them offering resistance.

Macrinus, after being thus defeated on the eighth of June, sent his son in charge of Epagathus and some other attendants to Artabanus, king of the Parthians, while he himself entered Antioch, representing that he had conquered, so that he might be received there. Then, when the news of his defeat became noised abroad, and many were being slain both along the roads and in the city on the ground that they had favoured this side or that, he fled from this place also. He left by night on horseback, having first shaved his head and his whole chin, and wearing a dark garment over his purple robe, in order that he might, so far as possible, resemble an ordinary citizen. In this manner he reached Aegae in Cilicia with a few companions, and there, by pretending to be one of the soldiers employed as couriers, he secured a carriage in which he drove through Cappadocia, Galatia, and Bithynia as far as Eribolon, the harbour that lies over against the city of Nicomedeia. It was his intention to make his way back to Rome, in the expectation that there he could gain some assistance from the senate and from the people. And if he had escaped thither, he would certainly have accomplished something; for the disposition of the people there was becoming

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[6] ἐς Bk., ΕΙΣ V.

παρὰ πολὺ ἐς αὐτόν, πρός τε τὸ τῶν Σύρων τόλμημα καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου ἡλικίαν τό τε τοῦ Γάννυ καὶ τοῦ Κωμάζοντος αὐτεπίτακτον σκοπούντων, ἐποίει, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἂν ἢ ἑκόντας[1] μετανοῆσαι ἢ καὶ 5 ἄκοντας καταδαμασθῆναι. νῦν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων δι' ὧν διῄει, εἰ καὶ ἐγνώρισέν τις αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὔτι καὶ ἐφάψασθαι ἐτόλμησεν αὐτοῦ· ὡς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐριβώλου διαπλέων ἐς τὴν Χαλκηδόνα (οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρσησεν ἐς τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἐσελθεῖν, φοβηθεὶς τὸν τῆς Βιθυνίας ἄρχοντα Καικίλιον Ἀρίστωνα), ἔπεμψε πρός τινα τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἀργύριον αἰτῶν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἐγνώσθη, κατελήφθη τε ἐν τῇ Χαλκηδόνι ἔτι ὤν, καὶ ἐπελθόντων 6 καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ψευδαντωνίνου πεμφθέντων[2] ἵνα . . . . νῦν εἰ πώποτε . . . . . ., συνελήφθη τε ὑπ' Αὐρηλίου Κέλσου ἑκατοντάρχου, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἤχθη ὥσπερ τις τῶν 40 ἀτιμοτάτων. ἐνταῦθα δὲ μαθὼν ὅτι καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἑαλώκει (διὰ γὰρ τοῦ Ζεύγματος αὐτόν, δι' οὗ πρότερον διιὼν Καῖσαρ ἀπεδέδεικτο, διελαύνοντα Κλαύδιος Πολλίων ὁ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἑκατόνταρχος συνέλαβεν) ἔρριψέ τε αὑτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀχήματος (οὐ γὰρ ἐδέδετο) καὶ τότε μὲν τὸν 2 ὦμον συνέτριψε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀποθανεῖν κελευσθεὶς πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐσελθεῖν ἐσφάγη τε ὑπὸ Μαρκιανοῦ Ταύρου ἑκατοντάρχου, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἄταφον ἔμεινε μέχρις οὗ ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος, ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας παρελθών, ἐφήσθη αὐτῷ.

3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μακρῖνος οὕτω, καὶ γέρων ὢν

[1] ἂν ἢ ἑκόντας Rk., ΘΝΗΣΚΟΝΤΑΣ V.

decidedly more favourable toward him, in view of A.D. 218 the effrontery of the Syrians, the youth of the False Antoninus, and the arbitrary course of Gannys and Comazon, so that even the soldiers either would have voluntarily changed their minds, or, refusing to do so, would have been overpowered. But this was not to be. Though none of the people through whom he had thus far passed had ventured to lay hands upon him, even if he was recognized, his fortune now changed. For on sailing from Eribolon for Chalcedon (he did not dare to enter Nicomedeia, for fear of the governor of Bithynia, Caecilius Aristo), he sent to one of the procurators asking for money, and becoming known in this way, he was seized while still in Chalcedon; and on the arrival of those who had been sent by the False Antoninus in order that [he might] now at any rate [be put out of the way], he was arrested by Aurelius Celsus, a centurion, and taken as far as Cappadocia like the commonest criminal. Learning there that his son also had been captured (he had been arrested by Claudius Pollio, the centurion of the legion, while riding through Zeugma, where in the course of a previous journey he had been declared Caesar), he threw himself from the conveyance (for he had not been bound), and at the time suffered merely a fracture of the shoulder; but, a little later, having been sentenced to die before entering Antioch, he was slain by Marcianus Taurus, a centurion, and his body remained unburied until the False Antoninus, on his way from Syria to Bithynia, had gloated over it.

Thus Macrinus, though an old man (he was fifty-

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[2] πεμφθέντων Xiph., om. V.

(πεντήκοντα γὰρ καὶ τέσσαρα ἦγεν ἔτη, τριῶν που μηνῶν[1] δέοντα ἢ πέντε) καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πραγμάτων προφέρων, ἀρετήν τε ὑποδεικνύων καὶ τοσούτων στρατευμάτων ἄρχων, ὑπό τε παιδαρίου, οὗ μηδὲ τὸ ὄνομα πρότερον ἠπίστατο, 4 κατελύθη, ὥς που καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον αὐτῷ προεμήνυσε, ... ου Ζεὺς ὁ Βῆλος χρωμένῳ οἱ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔφη·

"ὦ γέρον, ἦ μάλα δή σε νέοι τείρουσι μαχηταί,
σὴ δὲ βίη[2] λέλυται, χαλεπὸν δέ σε γῆρας ἱκάνει,"

φεύγων τε . . . . σης ἢ νενικη . . . ., δραπετεύσας διὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ὧν ἦρξε, συλληφθεὶς 5 ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ὥσπερ τις ληστής, ἐπιδὼν ἑαυτὸν μετ' ἀτιμοτάτων κακούργων . . . . . . φρουρούμενον ᾧ πολλοὶ πολλάκις βουλευταὶ προσήχθησαν, ἀποθανεῖν τε ἐκελεύσθη τὴν τοῦ κολάσαι[3] πάντα τινὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀπολῦσαί τε ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, καὶ πρὸς ἑκατοντάρχων συνελήφθη τε καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπεστερήθη οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε χειρόνων καὶ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀποκτεῖναι ἐξουσίαν εἶχεν. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς προσαπώλετο.

41 Οὕτω που οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν σφόδρα δοκούντων ἐρρῶσθαι βεβαίαν τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάνυ εὖ πράττοντες ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς λοιποῖς αἰω- 2 ροῦνται. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπαινεθεὶς ἂν ὑπὲρ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, εἴ γε μὴ αὐτὸς αὐταρχῆσαι ἐπετεθυ-

[1] μηνῶν supplied by Bs., who compares cod. Paris. 1712 (ζήσας ἔτη νγ' μῆνας θ), ἡμερῶν Falc.

four years of age lacking some three or five months) A.D. 218 and distinguished for his practical experience of affairs, a man who displayed signs of excellence and commanded so many legions, was overthrown by a mere boy of whose very name he had previously been ignorant,—as, indeed, the oracle had foretold to him; for upon his consulting the oracle of Zeus Belus the god had answered him:

> "Truly indeed, old man, young warriors sorely beset thee,
> Spent is thy force, and grievous old age is coming upon thee."[1]

And so fleeing . . [rather] than conquer[ed] . . he made off like a runaway slave through the provinces that he had ruled, and was arrested like some robber by the first comer; he beheld himself guarded [together] with the most despised malefactors, the very man before whom many senators had often been brought for trial; he was condemned to die, though possessing the authority to punish or to release any Roman whomsoever; and he was arrested and beheaded by centurions, though he had authority to put to death both them and others, whether of lower or higher station. And his son, too, perished after him.

Thus it is that no one, even of those who seem the strongest, is sure of his power, but the exceeding prosperous are, equally with the rest, unstable. This man, now, might have been praised above all men, if he had not set his heart upon becoming

[1] Hom., *Il.* viii. 102–3.

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[2] βίη Falc., BIHI V.
[3] κολάσαι Bk., ΚΕΛΕΥ . . . V.

μήκει, ἀλλ' ἐπιλεξάμενός τινα τῶν ἔς γε τὴν γερουσίαν τελούντων τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς
3 προστατῆσαι, αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ἀπεδεδείχει, καὶ μόνως ἂν οὕτως τὸ αἰτίαμα τὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Καράκαλλον ἐπιβουλῆς, ὡς καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπιθυμίαν ποιησάμενος αὐτήν, ἐκφυγών, καὶ διέβαλεν ἅμα ἑαυτὸν καὶ διέφθειρεν, ὥστε[1] καὶ ἐν ὀνείδει καὶ
4 ἐν παθήματι ἀξιωτάτῳ[2] αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ μοναρχίας, μηδ' ὄνομα βουλευτοῦ ἔχων, ὀριγνηθεὶς καὶ τάχιστα καὶ βαρυσυμφορώτατα αὐτὴν ἀπέβαλεν· ἐνιαυτῷ τε γὰρ καὶ δύο μησίν, τριῶν ἡμερῶν, ὥστε καὶ μέχρι τῆς μάχης λογιζομένοις συμβῆναι, δέουσιν, ἦρξεν.

[1] ὥστε Bk., ΩΣΓΕ V.
[2] ἀξιωτάτῳ Leuncl., ΑΞΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ V.

emperor himself, but had selected some man be- A.D. 218
longing to the senate and had declared him emperor; only in this way could he have avoided blame for the plot against Caracallus and showed that he had done the deed in order to secure his own safety and not because of his desire for the rule. But instead of taking such a course, he brought discredit and destruction alike upon himself, so that he became the object of reproach and fell a victim to a disaster that was richly deserved. For, having grasped at the supreme power before he had even the title of senator, he lost it most speedily and disastrously, after ruling only a year and two months, lacking three days, reckoning the time to the date of the battle.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

α. Περὶ Ἀβίτου τοῦ καὶ Ψευδαντωνίνου καὶ τῶν φόνων ὧν εἰργάσατο.
β. Περὶ ὧν παρενόμησεν καὶ ὡς τὴν ἀειπαρθένον ἔγημε.
γ. Περὶ τοῦ Ἐλεογαβάλου καὶ ὡς τὴν Οὐρανίαν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μεταπεμψάμενος τῷ Ἐλεογαβάλῳ συνῴκισεν.
δ. Περὶ τῆς ἀσελγείας αὐτοῦ.
ε. Ὡς τὸν ἀνεψιὸν ἐποιήσατο, ὃν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μετωνόμασεν.
[ϛ.] Ὡς κατελύθη καὶ ἐσφάγη.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Μακρίνου καὶ Ἀδβέντου[1] ὑπατείας[2] καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη δ′, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο·

Ψευδαντωνῖνος τὸ β′ καὶ
Κ. Τινέιος[3] Σακέρδως
Ψευδαντωνῖνος τὸ γ′ καὶ
Μ. Οὐαλέριος[4] Κωμάζων
Γ. Βέττιος[5] Γρᾶτος[6] Σαβινιανὸς[7] καὶ
Μ. Φλάβιος[8] Βιτέλλιος[9] Σέλευκος
Ψευδαντωνῖνος τὸ δ′ καὶ
Μ. Αὐρήλιος Σευῆρος[10] Ἀλέξανδρος.

LXXX 1, 1 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀουῖτος εἴτε Ψευδαντωνῖνος εἴτε καὶ Ἀσσύριος ἢ καὶ Σαρδανάπαλλος Τιβερῖνός τε (καὶ γὰρ καὶ[11] ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ σῶμα σφαγέντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τόν Τίβεριν ἐνεβλήθη, ἔλαβεν) τότε μὲν μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἔς τε

1 Ἀδβέντου Urs., ΑΛΒΕΝΤΟΥ V.
2 ὑπατείας Urs., ΥΠΑΤΙΑΣ V.
3 Κ. Τινέιος Bs., ΚΤΙΝΑ V.
4 Μ. Οὐαλέριος Bs., ΛΟΛΛΟΥΑΛΙ V.
5 Γ. Βέττιος Bs., ΓΒ. ΤΤ V.
6 Γρᾶτος Leuncl. (Γράτος), ΤΡΑΤΟΣ V.
7 Σαβινιανός Leuncl., ΣΑΒΙΑΝ′ V.
8 Φλάβιος Mommsen, ΦΑ V.

EPITOME OF BOOK LXXX

About Avitus, called also the False Antoninus, and the murders that he committed (chaps. 1–7).
About his lawless deeds and how he married the Vestal (chaps. 9, 11).
About Eleogabalus and how he summoned Urania to Rome and united her in marriage with Eleogabalus (chaps. 11–12).
About his licentiousness (chaps. 13–16).
How he adopted his cousin and changed his name to Alexander (chaps. 17–18).
How he was overthrown and slain (chaps. 19–21).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of Macrinus and Adventus, together with four additional years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated :—

A.D.
219 The False Antoninus (II) and Q. Tineius Sacerdos.
220 The False Antoninus (III) and M. Valerius Comazon.
221 C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus and M. Flavius Vitellius Seleucus.
222 The False Antoninus (IV) and M. Aurelius Severus Alexander.

Now Avitus, otherwise known as the False Antoninus, or the Assyrian, or Sardanapalus, or even Tiberinus (this last appellation he received after he had been slain and his body had been thrown into the Tiber), at the time of which we are speaking A.D. 218

[9] Βιτέλλιος Bs., ΒΙΤΕΑΛ V.
[10] Αὐρήλιος Σευῆρος Urs., ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣΕΥΗΡ' V.
[11] καί supplied by Urs.

τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐσῆλθε, πεντακοσίας τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις δραχμάς, ὅπως μὴ διαρπάσωσιν αὐτήν, οὗπερ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμουν, προϋποσχόμενος·[1] ἃς που καὶ παρὰ τοῦ
2 δήμου ἐσέπραξεν· καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄλλα τε οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπέστειλε, πολλὰ μὲν τὸν Μακρῖνον ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐς τὴν δυσγένειαν τήν τε ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἐπιβουλὴν διαβάλλων (πρὸς γοῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦτο ἔφη ὅτι "ᾧ μηδ' ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ συνέδριον μετὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ χωρὶς τῶν βουλευτῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐξεῖργον[2] ἐξῆν, οὗτος ἐτόλμησεν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, οὗ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐπεπίστευτο, δολοφονήσας τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ παρασπάσασθαι καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ πρότερον ἢ βου-
3 λευτὴς γενέσθαι"), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τῷ τε δήμῳ καθυπισχνούμενος (κατά τε γὰρ τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου, ᾧ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀφωμοίου, καὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Μάρκου ζῆλον ἅπαντα ἅπαξ πράξειν ἐπηγγεί-
4 λατο), καὶ δῆτα καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔγραψεν, αἰνιττόμενος πρὸς τὰς διαβολὰς τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου θρυληθείσας, ὅτι "τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐμὴν διαβαλεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν, αὐτὸς πενταετῆ υἱὸν ἀποδείξας."

2 Ταῦτά τε οὖν τῇ βουλῇ ἐπέστειλεν, καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα τὰ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις γενόμενα τά τε γράμματα τοῦ Μακρίνου τὰ τῷ Μαξίμῳ γραφέντα ἔπεμψεν μὲν καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἔπεμψεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς στρατεύμασιν, ἵν' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον τήν τε ἐκείνου μνήμην μισήσωσι καὶ

[1] προϋποσχόμενος Leuncl., ΠΡΟΣΥΠΟΣΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ V.

entered Antioch on the day following the victory, A.D. 218 after first promising two thousand sesterces apiece to the soldiers with him to prevent them from sacking the city, a thing which they were very anxious to do. This amount he collected in part from the people. And he sent to Rome such a despatch as was to be expected, making many derogatory remarks about Macrinus, especially with reference to his low birth and his plot against Antoninus. For example, he said among other things: "This man, to whom it was not permitted even to enter the senate-house after the proclamation debarring all others than senators, dared treacherously to murder the emperor whom he had been trusted to guard, dared to appropriate his office and to become emperor before he had been senator." About himself he made many promises, not only to the soldiers but also to the senate and to the people, asserting that he would always and in all things emulate Augustus, to whose youth he likened his own, and Marcus Antoninus. He also wrote the following, alluding to the derogatory remarks spread broadcast about him by Macrinus: "He undertook to disparage my age, when he himself had appointed his five-year-old son [emperor]."

Besides this communication that he forwarded to the senate, he sent not only to the senate but also to the legions the notebooks found among the soldiers and the letters of Macrinus written to Maximus, hoping that these would cause them to hold his predecessor's memory in even greater detestation

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[2] ἐξεῖργον Leuncl., ΕΞΕΡΓΟΝ V.

2 ἑαυτὸν[1] ἀγαπήσωσιν. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιστολῇ τῷ τε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον γράμματι καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Καίσαρα, τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸν καὶ τοῦ Σεουήρου ἔγγονον, εὐσεβῆ τε καὶ εὐτυχῆ καὶ Αὔγουστον, καὶ ἀνθύπατον τήν τε 3 ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν ἔχοντα ἑαυτὸν ἐνέγραψεν, προλαμβάνων αὐτὰ πρὶν ψηφισθῆναι, τῷ . . . . | ματι οὐ τῷ τ . . . . | ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ π . . . . | ἐχρήσατο, ο . . . . | ησεν καὶ αν . . . . | τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπομνήματα ο . . . . | γὰρ δὴ τοῦ Μακρίνου . . . | ματα καισαρ . . . . | δὲ δὴ δορυφόροις καὶ Ἀλβανίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ 4 Ἰταλίᾳ οὖσι . . . . | καὶ ὅτι ὕπατο . . . . . . ρευσειηπρ . . . . | λε καὶ τὰ με . . . . | ριος Κηνσωρῖνος . . . | προστασίαν . . . . | ἀνελέξατο . . . . | Μακρίνου c . . . . | αὐτὸς ὡς οὐχ . . . . . . | διὰ τῆς ἑαυτ . . . . | δημοσιωθ . . . . | ἀναγνῶναι . . . . | τὰ γράμματ . . . . . . Σαρδαναπαλλο . . . . | νος τοῦ κλ[2] . . . . | ἐς τοὺς ὑπατευκότας ἐγκατελέξατο, ... ἐνετείλατο ἵνα, εἴ τις ἀνθίσταιτο, τῇ χειρὶ τῇ τῶν στρατιω-5 τῶν χρήσηται· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ . . . . . . σια καὶ ἄκουσα πάντα ἐκείνοις δ . ἀνέγνω . τῇ γὰρ ἐπαρτηθείσῃ ἀνάγκῃ οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν δεόντων οὔτε τῶν συμφερόντων σφίσι πρᾶξαι ἠδυνήθησαν, ... , ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἐξεπλάγησαν . . . 6 . . . . || . . . . . . καὶ τόν τε Μακρῖνον, ὃν πάμπολλα ἐπῃνέκεσαν, ἐν πολεμίου

[1] ἑαυτόν Urs., ΕΞΑΥΤΟΝ V (ΕΞ deleted by V²).

and to feel greater affection for him. In both the message to the senate and the letter to the people he styled himself emperor and Caesar, the son of Antoninus, the grandson of Severus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, proconsul, and holder of the tribunician power, assuming these titles before they had been voted, and he used, not the [na]me [of Avitus,] but that of his [pretended] f[ather], ... the notebooks of the soldiers . . . . for Macrinus' . . . . Caesar . . . . to the Pretorians and to the Alban legionaries who were in Italy he <wro>te . . . . . . and that he was consul and [high p]riest (?) . . . . and the . . . . [Ma]rius Censorinus . . leadership . . read . . . of Macrinus . . . . himself, as if not [sufficiently] by his own [voice able] to make public . . . . . the letters of Sardanapalus to be read . . . by (?) Cl[audius Polli]o,[1] [whom] he had enrolled among the ex-consuls, [and] commanded that if anyone resisted him, he should call on the soldiers for assistance; accordingly, [the sen]ate, though unwillingly, read everything to those . . For, by reason of the necessity hanging over them, they were unable to do any of the things that were proper or expedient . . but were panic-stricken by fear . . . . and Macrinus, whom they had often commended, they now reviled, together with his son, regarding

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[1] Cf. Exc. Val.: "The False Antoninus sent letters to the senate through Pollio, the consul, and commanded him," etc.

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[2] Cf. Exc. Val. 403 (p. 761): ὅτι ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος γράμματα πέμψας τῇ βουλῇ διὰ Πολλίωνος ὑπάτου ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ ἵνα, κτέ.

μοίρᾳ σύν τε τῷ υἱεῖ ἐλοιδόρησαν,[1] καὶ τὸν Ταραύταν, ὃν καὶ πολέμιον ἀποδεῖξαι πολλάκις ἠθελήκεσαν, τότε ἐσέμνυνον, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν δῆθεν αὐτοῦ ηὔχοντο ὅμοιον γενέσθαι αὐτῷ.

3 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ Ἀουῖτος τὸν Πολλίωνα . . . τῆς Γερμανίας . . . . . ἄρξαι προσέταξεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Βιθυνίας . . . . τα ἐκεῖνος περιεγεγόνει. αὐτὸς δὲ καταμείνας τινὰς μῆνας ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ μέχρις οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν πανταχόθεν ἐβεβαιώσατο, ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἦλθεν, πάρεδρον . . . . . . οι πολλάκις . . . . ν, ὥσπερ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιό-
2 χειαν εἰώθει, ποιούμενος. ἔνθα δὲ ἐπιχειμάσας ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης καὶ τῆς Μυσίας καὶ τῆς Παννονίας ἑκατέρας ἐπορεύθη, κἀκεῖ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς κατέμεινεν, ἓν μέν τι καὶ σφόδρα ἀγαθοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔργον ποιήσας (πολλῶν γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ δήμων, τῶν τε[2] . . . . ι αὐτοῦ τούτων . . . . τῆς τε βουλῆς, καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ ἔς τε τὸν Καράκαλλον καὶ ἑαυτόν, ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μακρίνου γραμμάτων, καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ὑβρισάντων, οὐδενὶ[3] τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ἐπεξιέναι[4] ἔφη οὔτε
3 ἐπεξῆλθεν), ἐς δὲ δὴ τἆλλα πάντα καὶ αἰσχρουργότατα καὶ παρανομώτατα καὶ μιαιφονώτατα ἐξοκείλας, ὥστε τὰ μέν τινα αὐτῶν μηδ' ἀρχὴν πώποτ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενα ὡς καὶ πάτρια ἀκμάσαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ τολμηθέντα ἄλλοτε[5] ἄλλοις

[1] Cf. Exc. Val. 403: καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο τὸν Μακρῖνον ἐν πολεμίου μοίρᾳ καὶ ἐλοιδόρησαν, κτέ.

[2] τῶν τε—τῆς τε βουλῆς V, καὶ αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίων Exc. Val. τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν, τῶν τε ἱππέων τῆς τε βουλῆς Bs.

him in the light of a public enemy;[1] while as for Tarautas, whom they had often wished to declare a public enemy, they now exalted him and prayed that his alleged son should be like him. A.D. 218

This was what was taking place in Rome. As for Avitus, he appointed Pollio to govern . . . Germany . . since Pollio had very . . . ly subdued Bithynia. He himself, after remaining some months in Antioch, until he had established his authority on all sides, went to Bithynia, [where he] frequently employed [Ganny]s as his associate [in the government], as he had been accustomed to do at Antioch. After passing the winter there, he proceeded into Italy through Thrace, Moesia, and both the Pannonias, and there he remained until the end of his life. One action of his was worthy of a thoroughly good emperor; for, although many individuals and communities alike, including the [Romans] themselves (?), both [knights] and senators, had privately and publicly, by word and by deed, heaped insults upon both Caracallus and himself, as a result of the letters of Macrinus, he neither threatened to make reprisals nor actually did make any in a single instance. But, on the other hand, he drifted into all the most shameful, lawless, and cruel practices, with the result that some of them, never before known in Rome, came to have the authority of tradition, while others, that had been attempted by

[1] Cf. Exc. Val.: "And they voted Macrinus a public enemy and heaped abuse upon him."

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[3] οὐδενί Xiph., ΟΥΔΕΝ V cod. Peir.
[4] ἐπεξιέναι Bk., ΕΠΕΞΗΝ V, ΕΠΕΞΗΞΕΙΝ V[2] cod. Peir.
[5] ἄλλοτε Bk., ΑΛΛΑΤΕ V.

ὡς ἑκάστοις, ἔτεσι τρισὶ καὶ[1] μησὶν ἐννέα ἡμέραις τε τέτταρσιν, ἐν αἷς[2] ἦρξεν, ὥς γ' ἄν τις ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐν ᾗ τὸ παντελὲς κράτος ἔσχεν
4 ἀριθμήσειεν, ἀνθῆσαι. ἐφόνευσε μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τόν τε Νέστορα καὶ Φάβιον Ἀγριππῖνον τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῆς, τῶν τε ἱππέων τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Μακρῖνον τοὺς πρώτους· ὅπερ που καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τοὺς μάλιστα οἰκειωθέντας αὐτῷ εἰργάσατο· κἀν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ[3] Πεῖκαν Καιριανὸν τὸν ἐπιτετραμμένον αὐτήν, ὅτι μὴ παραχρῆμα αὐτῷ
5 προσέθετο, ἔν τε τῇ Κύπρῳ Κλαύδιον Ἄτταλον τὸν τῆς Θρᾴκης ποτὲ ἄρξαντα, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ Σεουήρου ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐν τῷ τοῦ Νίγρου[4] πολέμῳ ἐκπεσόντα, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ταραύτου ἐς αὐτὸ ἐπαναχθέντα, καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου τῇ Κύπρῳ προσταχθέντα, ὅτι τῷ Κωμάζοντι προσεκεκρούκει· στρατευόμενον γάρ ποτε αὐτὸν ἐν Θρᾴκῃ καὶ κακουργήσαντά τι ἐς τοὺς τριηρίτας ἀπεώ-
4 σατο. τοιοῦτος γάρ τις ὁ Κωμάζων ὢν καὶ τοῦτο τοὔνομα ἔκ τε μίμων καὶ γελωτοποιίας ἔχων τῶν τε δορυφόρων ἦρξεν, ἐν μηδεμιᾷ τὸ παράπαν ἐπιτροπείᾳ ἢ καὶ προστασίᾳ[5] τινὶ πλὴν τῆς τοῦ
2 στρατοπέδου ἐξετασθείς, καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τὰς ὑπατικὰς ἔλαβεν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπάτευσεν καὶ ἐπολιάρχησεν, οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον, ὃ μηδενὶ πώποτε ἄλλῳ ὑπῆρξεν· ὅθεν που καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς παρανομωτάτοις ἐξαριθμήσεται.

[1] *καί* Leuncl., ΚΑΙΕΝ V.
[2] *τε τέτταρσιν ἐν αἷς* Leuncl., ΤΕΤΡΑΣΙΝΕΝΑΠ V.
[3] *τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ* Urs., ΤΗΣΑΡΑΒΙΑΣ V.
[4] *τοῦ Νίγρου* Leuncl., ΝΙΓΡΙΝΟΥ V.
[5] *προστασίᾳ* Xiph., ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΙΑ V.

various men at different times, flourished merely for A.D. 218 the three years, nine months and four days during which he ruled,—reckoning from the battle in which he gained the supreme power. For example, while still in Syria, he slew Nestor and Fabius Agrippinus, the governor of the province, as well as the foremost knights among Macrinus' followers; and he visited the same punishment upon the men in Rome who had been most intimate with Macrinus. In Arabia he put to death Pica Caerianus,[1] who was in charge of that province, because he had not immediately declared his allegiance to the new ruler; and in Cyprus, Claudius Attalus, because he had offended Comazon. Attalus had once been governor of Thrace, had been expelled from the senate by Severus during the war with Niger, but had been restored to it by Tarautas, and had at this time been assigned by the lot to Cyprus. He had incurred Comazon's ill will by having once sent him to the galleys for some wrongdoing of which he was guilty while serving in Thrace. Yet this Comazon, in spite of having such a character and a name derived from mimes and buffoonery, now commanded the Pretorians, though he had been tried in no position of responsibility or command whatever, except that over the camp; and he obtained the rank of consul and later actually became consul, and also city prefect, and that not once only, but even a second and a third time—a thing that had never before happened in the case of anybody else; hence this will be counted as one of the greatest violations of precedent.

[1] The name is probably erroneous; Hirschfeld would read Caecilianus, Klein suggests Caesianus.

3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄτταλος δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀπέθανεν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Τρικκιανὸς διὰ τοὺς Ἀλβανίους[1] ὧν ἐγκρατῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ Μακρίνου ἡγεῖτο, Καστῖνός[2] θ' ὅτι δραστήριός τε ἦν καὶ πολλοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔκ τε τῶν ἀρχῶν ὧν ἦρξε καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον συνουσίας, ἔγνωστο· διόπερ καὶ ὑπὸ 4 τοῦ Μακρίνου τὴν ἄλλως προπεμφθεὶς ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ τὴν δίαιταν ἐποιεῖτο. τοῦτόν τε οὖν ἀπέκτεινεν, καίτοι τῇ γερουσίᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ γράψας ὅτι αὐτὸν εἰρχθέντα τῆς Ῥώμης, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Ἄσπρον τὸν Ἰούλιον, ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου 5 ἀποκατέστησεν, καὶ Σύλλαν τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρξαντα, καίπερ ἀπηλλαγμένον ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὅτι τ' ἐπολυπραγμόνει τινά, καὶ ὅτι[3] μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπήντησε τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς Κελτικοῖς οἴκαδε μετὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ χειμασίαν, ἐν ᾗ τινὰ ὑπετάραξαν, 6 ἀπιοῦσιν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ[4] διὰ ταῦτα ἀπώλοντο, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐπεστάλη τι περὶ αὐτῶν τῇ γερουσίᾳ, Σέιος δὲ δὴ Κᾶρος ὁ Φουσκιανοῦ τοῦ πολιαρχήσαντος ἔκγονος ὅτι τε ἐπλούτει καὶ ὅτι μέγας καὶ νοῦν ἔχων ἦν, πρόφασιν ὡς καὶ συνιστάς τινας τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀλβανῷ στρατευομένων (καὶ μόνου γε[5] ἐκείνου ἀποδεικνύντος τινὰ ἤκουσεν 7 ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐσφάγη), Οὐαλεριανός τε Παῖτος ὅτι εἰκόνας τινὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιχρύσους

[1] Ἀλβανίους Falc., ΑΛΒΙΝΙΟΥΣ V.

TI

[2] Καστῖνός θ' ὅτι Bs., ΚΑΙΤΙΝΟΣΘ V (TI added by V^2 and first I corr. to Σ).

[3] ὅτι Leuncl., ΟΤΙΤΕ V.

[4] δή Urs., ΔΕ V.

Attalus, then, was put to death on Comazon's account. Triccianus, however, lost his life because of the Alban legion, which he had commanded with a firm hand during Macrinus' reign. And Castinus perished because he was energetic and was known to many soldiers in consequence of the commands he had held and of his intimate association with Antoninus; he had accordingly been living in Bithynia, whither he had been sent ahead for other reasons. The emperor now put him to death, in spite of the fact that he had written concerning him to the senate that he had restored this man who had been banished from Rome by Macrinus, just as he had done in the case of Julius Asper. He also slew Sulla, who had been governor of Cappadocia but had left the province, because Sulla had meddled in some matters that did not concern him and also because, when summoned from Rome by the emperor, he had contrived to meet the German troops returning home after their winter in Bithynia, a period during which they had created some little disturbance. These men, then, perished for the reasons I have given, and no statements about them were communicated to the senate. On the other hand, Seius Carus, the grandson of Fuscianus, the former prefect of the city, was killed because he was rich, influential, and prudent, but on the pretext that he was forming a league of some of the soldiers stationed near the Alban Mount; he heard the emperor alone prefer certain charges against him in the palace, and there he was also slain. Valerianus Paetus lost his life because he had stamped some likenesses of himself and plated them with gold to serve as orna-

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[5] γε Bk., τε V.

πρὸς παλλακίδων κοσμήματα ἐξετύπωσεν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου καὶ αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ὡς καὶ ἐς[1] Καππαδοκίαν ὅμορον τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ οὖσαν (Γαλάτης γὰρ ἦν) ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ διανοούμενος, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο χρυσοῦς γλύμμα ἑαυτοῦ φέροντας ποιούμενος.

5 Καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐθανατώθη ὁ Μεσσάλας ὁ Σίλιος ὅ τε Βάσσος ὁ Πομπώνιος, ἐγκλήματα λαβόντες ὅτι[2] τοῖς 2 πραττομένοις ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠρέσκοντο. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ τῇ βουλῇ γράψαι περὶ αὐτῶν ὤκνησεν, ἐξεταστάς τε αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου καὶ ἐπιτιμητὰς τῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ δρωμένων εἰπὼν εἶναι· "τὰς γάρ τοι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς δῆθεν αὐτῶν ἀποδείξεις οὐκ ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν," ἔφη, "ὅτι μάτην ἀναγνωσθήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἤδη σφῶν τεθνηκότων." 3 ὑπῆν δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον αἰτίαμα πρὸς Μεσσάλαν, ὅτι πολλὰ ἐρρωμένως ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀπεφαίνετο· διόπερ καὶ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν, ὡς καὶ πάνυ τι αὐτοῦ δεόμενος, μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως μὴ καὶ καθηγεμὼν αὐτῇ ἀλλοδοξίας γένηται. 4 τῷ δὲ δὴ Βάσσῳ, ὅτι γυναῖκα καὶ εὐπρεπῆ καὶ εὐγενῆ εἶχεν· τοῦ τε γὰρ Σεουήρου τοῦ[3] Κλαυδίου καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Μάρκου ἀπόγονος ἦν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἔγημεν αὐτήν, μηδὲ ἐκθρηνῆσαι 5 τὴν συμφορὰν ἐπιτρέψας. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν γάμων αὐτοῦ, ὧν τε ἐγάμει ὧν τε ἐγήματο, αὐτίκα λελέξεται· καὶ γὰρ ἠνδρίζετο καὶ ἐθηλύνετο καὶ

[1] ἐς supplied by Leuncl. [2] ὅτι Bs., ΟΤΙΕΦΗ V.

ments for his mistresses. This led to the charge that he was intending to go off to Cappadocia, which bordered on his native land (he was a Galatian), for the purpose of starting a rebellion, and that this was the reason why he was making gold pieces bearing his own likeness. A.D. 218

Following these murders, Silius Messalla and Pomponius Bassus were condemned to death by the senate, on the charge of being displeased at what the emperor was doing. For he did not hesitate to write this charge against them even to the senate, calling them investigators of his life and censors of what went on in the palace. "The proofs of their plots I have not sent you," he wrote, "because it would be useless to read them, as the men are already dead." There was a further ground of complaint against Messalla, the fact, namely, that he resolutely laid bare many facts before the senate. This was what led the emperor in the first place to send for him to come to Syria, pretending to have great need of him, whereas he really feared that Messalla might take the lead in bringing about a change of mind on the part of the senators. In the case of Bassus, the real motive lay in the fact that he had a wife both fair to look upon and of noble rank; for she was a descendant of Claudius Severus and of Marcus Antoninus. At all events, the emperor married her, not allowing her even to mourn her loss. An account will be given presently of his marriages, in which he both married and was bestowed in marriage; for he appeared both as

[3] τοῦ supplied by Bk.

ἔπραττεν καὶ ἔπασχεν ἑκάτερα ἀσελγέστατα . . . . . | δὲ δὴ δυσ . . . . περὶ αὐτ . | . . . . σία ἐφο . . . . | σαντων . . . . | νος καὶ

6 μ . . . . | λιωνα δε α . . . . | ὑφ' ὧν πε . . . . | τενομεν . . . . | τω τειχε . . . . | κτο ἰδίαν . . . . ἀμυνομε . . . . | Σέργιος α . . . . | τὸν Καρο . . . . | τινα καὶ μ . . . . | προσδιει . . . . | ουν ἐκ τι . . . . | δρωνων . . . .

7 . . . . . | τινα διατ . . . . | ποιήσας . . . . | ὑπ' αὐτ . . . . | διωλομ . . . . | δενος η . . . . | τ' ἐκείνου . . . . | αἰτίαν ἐπι . . . . | φόνῳ τὰ μ . . . . | τε ἱππέων . . . . | Καισαρείων . . . . | ἐφθάρησαν . . . . | οὐδὲν δεο . . . . || . . . . . .

6 . . . ν δὲ δὴ τὸν τὴν ἐπανάστασιν κατασκευάσαντα, τὸν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸν ἐσαγαγόντα, τὸν τοὺς στρατιώτας προσαποστήσαντα, τὸν τὴν νίκην αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Μακρίνου παρασχόντα, τὸν τροφέα, τὸν προστάτην, ἐν ἀρχῇ εὐθὺς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ ἀποκτείνας ἀνοσιώ-

2 τατος ἀνδρῶν ἐνομίσθη. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ καὶ τρυφερώτερον διῃτᾶτο καὶ ἡδέως ἐδωροδόκει, οὐ μὴν οὔτε[1] αἴτιός τινος κακοῦ οὐδενὶ ἐγένετο καὶ πολλοὺς πολλὰ εὐηργέτησε.[2] τὸ δὲ μέγιστον,

[1] οὔτε Bk., οὐδὲ cod. Peir., cut off in V.

man and as woman, and in both relations conducted himself in the most licentious fashion . . . . A.D. 218
. . . . about
. . . .
. . . . and
. . . .
. . . . . . by whom . . . .
. . . .
. . . . own . . . .
. . . . Sergius . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . making
. . . .
. . . .
. . . . of him . . . .
blame for . . . . slaughter the . . . .
. . . . and of knights . . . . imperial freedmen . . . . were destroyed . . . .
. . . . nothing . . . .
. . . . . . but because of his slaying at Nicomedeia at the very outset of his reign [Ganny]s, the man who had brought about the uprising, who had taken him to the camp, who had also caused the soldiers to revolt, who had given him the victory over Macrinus, and who had been his foster-father and guardian, he was regarded as the most impious of men. To be sure, Gannys was living rather luxuriously and was fond of accepting bribes, but for all that he did no one any harm and bestowed many benefits upon many people. Most of all, he showed great zeal for

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[2] εὐηργέτησε St., ΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣΕ V, εὐεργέτησε cod. Peir.

ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν περιεῖπε, καὶ τῇ Μαίσῃ τῇ τε Σοαιμίδι σφόδρα ἤρεσκε, τῇ μὲν ὅτι ἐτέθραπτο ὑπ' αὐτῆς, τῇ δὲ ὅτι συνῴκει τρόπον τινὰ αὐτῇ. 3 *ἀλλ' οὔτι γε διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν κατεχρήσατο, ὁπότε καὶ συμβόλαιον αὐτῷ γαμικὸν ποιῆσαι καὶ Καίσαρα αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι σωφρόνως τε καὶ ἐμφρόνως*[1] *ζῆν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἠναγκάζετο. καὶ αὐτός γε*[2] *αὐτοχειρίᾳ πρῶτος αὐτὸν κατέτρωσε διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρξαι τοῦ φόνου τολμῆσαι.*

7 *Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, . . . ς δὲ Οὐῆρος ἐπιτολμήσας καὶ αὐτὸς τῇ μοναρχίᾳ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Γαλλικῷ, οὗ ἦρχε, καὶ Γέλλιος Μάξιμος ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας, καίπερ ὑποστρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τοῦ τετάρτου τοῦ* 2 *Σκυθικοῦ τείχους, ἐδικαιώθησαν. οὕτω γάρ που πάντα ἄνω κάτω συνεχύθη ὥστε ἐκείνους τὴν ἔφεσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν μὲν ἐξ ἑκατοντάρχων ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσγραφέντα, τὸν δὲ ἰατροῦ υἱὸν ὄντα ἐς τὸν νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι. τούτους δὲ δὴ μόνους ὠνόμασα οὐχ ὅτι καὶ μόνοι ἐξεφρόνησαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι βουλῆς ἦσαν,* 3 *ἐπεί τοι καὶ ἕτερός τις ἑκατοντάρχου υἱὸς ἐπεχείρησε τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο στρατόπεδον τὸ Γαλλικὸν*[3] *συνταράξαι, καὶ μάλα ἄλλος τις ἐριουργὸς τὸ τέταρτον, ἕτερός τε ἰδιώτης τὸν στόλον τὸν ἐν τῇ Κυζίκῳ ναυλοχοῦντα, ὅτε καὶ ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ ἐχείμαζεν, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ*

[1] *ἐμφρόνως* Rk., *εὐφρόνως* cod. Peir., cut off in V.
[2] *γε* Bk., *τε* cod. Peir., cut off in V.
[3] *Γαλλικόν* Urs., ΓΑΜΙΚΟΝ V, ΓΑΛΑΤΙΚΟΝ V[2].

the emperor and was thoroughly satisfactory to Maesa and Soaemis, to the former because he had been reared by her, and to the latter because he was virtually her husband. But it was not at all because of this that the emperor put him out of the way, inasmuch as he had wished to give him a marriage contract and appoint him Caesar; it was rather because he was forced by Gannys to live temperately and prudently. And he himself was the first to give Gannys a mortal blow with his own hand, since no one of the soldiers had the hardihood to take the lead in murdering him. A.D. 218

Such, then, was the fate of these men. Others to be executed were . . . Verus, who had also ventured to seek the throne while in the midst of the third legion (Gallica) which he was commanding, and Gellius Maximus, on the same charge, though he was but a lieutenant of the fourth legion (Scythica) in Syria proper.[1] To such an extent, indeed, had everything got turned topsy-turvy that these men, one of whom had been enrolled in the senate from the ranks of the centurions and the other of whom was the son of a physician, took it into their heads to aim at the supreme power. I have mentioned these men alone by name, not because they were the only ones that took leave of their senses, but because they belonged to the senate; for other attempts were made. For example, the son of a centurion undertook to stir up that same Gallic legion; another, a worker in wool, tampered with the fourth legion, and a third, a private citizen, with the fleet stationed at Cyzicus, when the False Antoninus was wintering at Nico-

[1] Cf. lv. 23.

† ἄλλοθι καὶ ἀλλαχόθι,[1] † ὥστε καὶ ἑτοιμότατον ὂν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἄρξαι, τῷ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν πολλοὺς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπιβεβα-
4 τευκέναι, νεωτερίσαι τολμῆσαι. καὶ μηδεὶς ἀπιστήσῃ τῷ λεχθέντι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ λοιπὰ[2] τὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν παρ' ἀνδρῶν ἀξιοπίστων πυθόμενος, τὸ δὲ δὴ κατὰ τὸν στόλον αὐτὸς ἐγγύθεν ἐκ τῆς Περγάμου ἀκριβώσας ἔγραψα, ἧς, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς Σμύρνης ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Μακρίνου ἐπεστάτησα· ἀφ' οὗπερ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἄπιστόν μοι κατεφάνη.

8 Φόνων μὲν οὖν ἐχόμενα ταῦτα αὐτῷ ἐπράχθη, ἔξω δὲ δὴ τῶν πατρίων ἁπλᾶ μὲν καὶ μηδὲν μέγα κακὸν ἡμῖν φέροντα, πλὴν καθ'[3] ὅσον παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐκαινοτομήθη, ὅτι τε τῶν ὀνομάτων τινὰ τῶν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ τεινόντων, πρὶν ψηφισθῆναι, ὥσπερ εἶπον, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ἔθετο,
2 καὶ ὅτι τῇ τοῦ Μακρίνου ὑπατείᾳ, μήτε χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπ'[4] αὐτὴν μήτε ὅλως ἐφαψάμενος αὐτῆς (προδιήνυστο γάρ), αὐτὸν ἀντενέγραψε,[5] καίτοι τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδουέντου ὡς[6] καὶ μόνου ὑπατευκότος τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τρισὶ γράμμασι διαδηλώσας, ὅτι τε[7] δεύτερον δὴ ὑπατεύειν
3 ἐπεχείρησεν, μηδεμίαν πρόσθεν μήτε ἀρχὴν λαβὼν μήτε τιμὴν ἀρχῆς, καὶ ὅτι τῇ ἐπινικίῳ

[1] Reim. proposed πολλαχόθι instead of καὶ ἀλλαχόθι, but the corruption may lie deeper.
[2] τὰ μὲν γὰρ λοιπά supplied by Bk., line missing in V.
[3] καθ' Leuncl., ΠΑΡ V.
[4] ἐπ' Leuncl., ΕΦ V.

medeia; and there were many others elsewhere, as A.D. 218 it was the simplest thing in the world for those who wished to rule to undertake a rebellion, being encouraged thereto by the fact that many men had entered upon the supreme rule contrary to expectation and to merit. And let no one be incredulous of my statements; for what I have written about the other attempts of private citizens I ascertained from trustworthy men, and the information about the fleet I personally learned by accurate investigation in Pergamum, close at hand, when I was in charge of that city, as well as of Smyrna, having been appointed by Macrinus; and in view of this attempt none of the others seemed incredible to me.

Such were his actions that were tainted with bloodshed. As for his violations of precedent, they were of simple character and did us no great harm, save that they were innovations upon established usage. Thus, he applied to himself certain titles connected with his imperial office before they had been voted, as I have already mentioned;[1] he entered his name in the list as consul in place of Macrinus, though he had not been elected to the office and had not entered upon it at all, as the term had already expired, and though at first in three letters he had referred to the year by the name of Adventus, as if Adventus had been sole consul; again, he undertook to be consul for the second time without having held any office previously or even the title of any office; and, finally, while act-

[1] In chap. 2.

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[5] ἀντενέγραψε Leuncl., ΑΝΤΕΓΡΑΨΕ V.
[6] ὡς Bk., ΜΕΝΩΣ V. [7] τε supplied by Reim.

στολῇ ὑπατεύων ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ, ἐν τῇ τῶν εὐχῶν ἡμέρᾳ, οὐκ ἐχρήσατο.[1]

11 Τῶν δὲ δὴ παρανομημάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἐλεγάβαλον[2] ἔχεται, οὐχ ὅτι θεόν τινα ξενικὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήγαγεν, οὐδ' ὅτι καινοπρεπέστατα αὐτὸν ἐμεγάλυνεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτοῦ ἤγαγεν αὐτόν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἱερέα αὐτοῦ ἑαυτὸν ψηφισθῆναι ἐποίησεν, ὅτι τε τὸ αἰδοῖον περιέτεμε, καὶ ὅτι χοιρείων κρεῶν, ὡς καὶ καθαρώτερον ἐκ τούτων θρησκεύσων, ἀπείχετο (ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν γὰρ παντάπασιν αὐτὸ ἀποκόψαι· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν τῆς μαλακίας ἕνεκα ποιῆσαι ἐπεθύμησε, τοῦτο δὲ ὡς καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἐλεγαβάλου[3] ἱερατείᾳ προσῆκον ἔπραξεν· ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ ἑτέροις τῶν συνόντων συχνοῖς ὁμοίως 2 ἐλυμήνατο)· καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν βαρβαρικήν, ᾗ οἱ τῶν Σύρων ἱερεῖς χρῶνται, καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις ἑωρᾶτο ἐνδεδυμένος· ἀφ' οὗπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβεν.—Xiph. 348, 13–21 R. St., Exc. Val. 408 (p. 762).

12, 2[2] Ὅτι ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος χρυσοῦς[4] ἔστη πολλῷ καὶ ποικίλῳ κόσμῳ διαπρέπων.—Exc. Val. 409 (p. 762).

Ὅτι χρήματα πολλὰ ὁ Μακρῖνος ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ εὑρὼν διεσπάθησεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξήρκουν αἱ πρόσοδοι πρὸς ἀναλώματα.—Exc. Val. 410 (p. 762).

9 Ἔγημε δὲ Κορνηλίαν Παῦλαν, ἵνα δὴ θᾶσσον, ὥσπερ ἔφη, πατὴρ γένηται ὁ μηδ' ἀνὴρ εἶναι δυνάμενος. ἐν δ' οὖν τοῖς γάμοις οὐχ ὅπως

[1] οὐκ ἐχρήσατο supplied by Reim. V ends with ΗΜΕΡΑΙ.

ing as consul in Nicomedeia, he did not wear the triumphal dress on the Day of Vows. A.D. 218

Closely related to these irregularities was his conduct in the matter of Elagabalus. The offence consisted, not in his introducing a foreign god into Rome or in his exalting him in very strange ways, but in his placing him even before Jupiter himself and causing himself to be voted his priest, also in his circumcising himself and abstaining from swine's flesh, on the ground that his devotion would thereby be purer. He had planned, indeed, to cut off his genitals altogether, but that desire was prompted solely by his effeminacy; the circumcision which he actually carried out was a part of the priestly requirements of Elagabalus, and he accordingly mutilated many of his companions in like manner. Furthermore, he was frequently seen even in public clad in the barbaric dress which the Syrian priests use, and this had as much to do as anything with his receiving the nickname of "The Assyrian."

A gold statue of the False Antoninus was erected, distinguished by its great and varied adornment. A.D. 219–20?

Macrinus, though he found a large amount of money in the imperial treasury, squandered it all, and the revenues did not suffice for expenditures.

The False Antoninus married Cornelia Paula, in order, as he said, that he might sooner become a father—he who could not even be a man! On the occasion of his marriage not only the senate and the

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[2] Ἐλεγάβαλον Reim., ἐλεαγάβαλον VC (and similarly below).

[3] Ἐλεγαβάλου Reim., ἐλιογαβάλου cod. Peir.

[4] χρυσοῦς Val., χρυσοῦ cod. Peir.

ἡ γερουσία ἥ τε ἱππάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ τῶν
2 βουλευτῶν διανομήν τινα ἔλαβον, ὅ τε δῆμος πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμαῖς καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἑκατὸν πλείοσιν εἱστιάθησαν, μονομάχων τε ἀγῶνες ἐγένοντο, ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ περιπόρφυρον ἐνδύντος, ὃ καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐχωλιμαίαις[1] θέαις ἐπεποιήκει. καὶ θηρία ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ ἐλέφας τίγριδές τε μία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἐσφάγησαν·
3 ὃ μηδεπώποτε ἀθρόον ἐγεγόνει. εἶτα τὴν Παῦλαν ὡς καὶ κηλῖδά τινα περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔχουσαν ἀποπέμψας Ἀκυλίᾳ Σεουήρᾳ συνῴκησεν, ἐκφανέστατα παρανομήσας· ἱερωμένην γὰρ αὐτὴν τῇ Ἑστίᾳ ἀσεβέστατα ᾔσχυνεν. ἐτόλμησε δὲ καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι "ἵνα δὴ καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς παῖδες ἔκ τε ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἔκ τε ταύτης τῆς ἀρχιερείας
4 γεννῶνται, τοῦτ' ἐποίησα." καὶ ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ αἰκισθέντα εἶτα ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐμβληθῆναι κἀνταῦθα θανατωθῆναι ἔδει, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκαλλωπίζετο. καὶ οὐδ' ἐκείνην μέντοι ἐπὶ πολὺ κατέσχεν, ἀλλὰ ἑτέραν, εἶθ' ἑτέραν καὶ μάλα ἄλλην ἔγημε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν Σεουῆραν ἐπανῆλθεν.

10 Ἐγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῆς Ἴσιδος, ὃ ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀέτωμα[2] τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ κυνὸς ὀχεῖται· τὸ
2 γὰρ πρόσωπον ἐς τὸ εἴσω μετέστρεψεν. ὁ δὲ Σαρδανάπαλλος καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐποίει καὶ θέας συχνάς, ἐν αἷς Αὐρήλιος Ἕλιξ[3] ὁ ἀθλητὴς εὐδοκίμησεν, ὃς τοσοῦτον τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ὑπερῆρεν ὥστε πάλην τε ἅμα καὶ παγκράτιον ἐν τῇ

[1] εὐχωλιμαίαις H. Steph., εὐχολιμαίαις VC.

equestrian order but also the wives of the senators received a largess; the populace was banqueted at a cost of six hundred sesterces apiece, and the soldiers at a cost of four hundred more; there were contests of gladiators, at which the emperor wore a purple-bordered toga, just as he had done at the *ludi votivi;* and various wild beasts were slain, including an elephant and fifty-one tigers—a larger number than had ever before been despatched at one time. Afterwards he divorced Paula on the ground that she had some blemish on her body, and cohabited with Aquilia Severa, thereby most flagrantly violating the law; for she was consecrated to Vesta, and yet he most impiously defiled her. Indeed, he had the boldness to say: "I did it in order that godlike children might spring from me, the high priest, and from her, the high-priestess." Thus he plumed himself over an act for which he ought to have been scourged in the Forum, thrown into prison, and then put to death. However, he did not keep even this woman long, but married a second, a third, a fourth, and still another; after that he returned to Severa.

A.D. 219–20?

Portents had been taking place in Rome, one of them being given by the statue of Isis, who is represented as riding on a dog above the pediment of her temple; for she turned her face toward the interior of the temple. Sardanapalus was conducting games and numerous spectacles in which Aurelius Helix, the athlete, won renown. This man so far surpassed his competitors, that he desired to contend

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[2] ἀέτωμα Leopard, ἄτρὼμα V, ἄπτωμα C.
[3] Ἕλιξ Bs., Αἴλιξ VC.

Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀγωνίσασθαι ἐθελῆσαι, κἂν τοῖς Καπι-
3 τωλίοις καὶ ἄμφω νικῆσαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἠλεῖοι φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ, μὴ (τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο) ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ὄγδοος γένηται, οὐδὲ ἐκάλεσαν ἐς τὸ στάδιον παλαιστὴν οὐδένα, καίπερ ἐν τῷ λευκώματι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἄθλημα προγράψαντες·[1] ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐνίκησεν ἑκάτερον, ὃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπεποιήκει.

11 Ἵνα δὲ παρῶ τάς τε βαρβαρικὰς ᾠδὰς ἃς ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος τῷ Ἐλεγαβάλῳ ᾖδε τῇ μητρὶ ἅμα καὶ τῇ τήθῃ, τάς τε ἀπορρήτους θυσίας ἃς αὐτῷ ἔθυε, παῖδας σφαγιαζόμενος καὶ μαγγανεύμασι χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ λέοντα καὶ πίθηκον καὶ ὄφιν τινὰ ζῶντα ἐγκατακλείσας, αἰδοῖά τε ἀνθρώπου ἐμβαλών, καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα ἀνοσιουργῶν, περιάπτοις τέ τισι
12 μυρίοις ἀεί ποτε χρώμενος, — ἵνα ταῦτα παραδράμω, καὶ γυναῖκα, τὸ γελοιότατον, Ἐλεγαβάλῳ ἐμνήστευσε καθάπερ καὶ γάμου παίδων τε δεομένῳ. καὶ ἔδει γὰρ μήτε πενιχρὰν μήτε δυσγενῆ τινὰ εἶναι αὐτήν, τὴν Οὐρανίαν τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπελέξατο, καὶ ἐκεῖθέν τε αὐτὴν μετεπέμψατο καὶ ἐς τὸ παλάτιον καθίδρυσεν, ἕδνα τε αὐτῇ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ὑπηκόων, ὥσπερ
2[1] καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γυναικῶν, ἤθροισε. τὰ μὲν δὴ οὖν ἕδνα, ὅσα ἐδόθη[2] ζῶντος αὐτοῦ,[3] μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσεπράχθη· τὴν δὲ δὴ προῖκα οὐκ ἔφη κομίσασθαι, πλὴν δύο λεόντων χρυσῶν, οἳ καὶ συνεχωνεύθησαν.—Xiph. 348, 21—349, 31 R. St.

13 Ἀλλ' οὗτος ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος, ὁ καὶ τοὺς

[1] προγράψαντες Sylb., προσγράψαντες VC.

in both wrestling and the pancratium at Olympia, and actually did win in both events at the Ludi Capitolini. But the Eleans were jealous of him, fearing that he might prove to be "the eighth from Hercules," as the saying has it, and so would not call any wrestler into the stadium, even though they had announced this contest on the bulletin-board; in Rome, however, he won both events, a feat that no one else had accomplished.

A.D. 219–20?

I will not describe the barbaric chants which Sardanapalus, together with his mother and grandmother, chanted to Elagabalus, or the secret sacrifices that he offered to him, slaying boys and using charms, in fact actually shutting up alive in the god's temple a lion, a monkey, and a snake, and throwing in among them human genitals, and practising other unholy rites, while he invariably wore innumerable amulets. But, to pass over these matters, he went to the extreme absurdity of courting a wife for Elagabalus—as if the god had any need of marriage and children! And, as such a wife might be neither poor nor low-born, he chose the Carthaginian Urania, summoned her thence, and established her in the palace; and he collected wedding-gifts for her from all his subjects, as he had done in the case of his own wives. Now all these presents that were given during his lifetime were reclaimed later; as for the dowry, he declared that he had received none from her, except two gold lions which were accordingly melted down.

But this Sardanapalus, who saw fit to make even

[2] ἐδόθη Bk., ἐδόθησαν VC.
[3] αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτῷ VC.

θεοὺς γάμου νόμῳ συνοικίζειν ἀξιῶν, ἀσελγέστατα αὐτὸς διεβίω. ἔγημε μὲν γὰρ πολλὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ ἔτι πλείοσιν ἄνευ τινὸς νομίμου[1] προσρήσεως συνείργνυτο, οὐ μέντοι ὡς καὶ αὐτός τι αὐτῶν δεόμενος, ἀλλ' ἵνα τῇ συγκοιμήσει τῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐραστῶν τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν μιμῆται καὶ[2] κοινωνοὺς τῆς ὕβρεως, φύρδην ἀναφερόμενος 2 αὐταῖς, λαμβάνῃ. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄτοπα, ἃ μήτε λέγων μήτε ἀκούων ἄν[3] τις καρτερήσειεν, καὶ[4] ἔδρασε τῷ σώματι καὶ ἔπαθε· τὰ δὲ δὴ περιφανέστατα, καὶ ἃ μηδ' ἂν ἀποκρύψαιτό τις, τάδε ἐστίν. ἐς καπηλεῖα ἐσῄει νύκτωρ περιθεταῖς κόμαις χρώμενος, καὶ τὰ τῶν καπηλίδων εἰργάζετο. ἐς τὰ πορνεῖα τὰ περιβόητα ἐσεφοίτα, 3 καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας ἐξελαύνων ἐπορνεύετο. καὶ τέλος ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ οἴκημά τι ἀποδείξας ἐνταῦθα ἠσέλγαινε, γυμνός τ' ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας αὐτοῦ ἑστὼς ὥσπερ αἱ πόρναι, καὶ τὸ σινδόνιον χρυσοῖς κρίκοις ἐξηρτημένον διασείων, τούς τε παριόντας ἁβρᾷ τε καὶ κεκλασμένῃ τῇ φωνῇ προσεταιριζόμενος. ἦσαν γὰρ οἷς ἐξεπίτηδες τοῦτο ποιεῖν 4 προσετέτακτο. ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τἆλλα, καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνο διερευνητὰς συχνοὺς εἶχε, δι' ὧν ἐπολυπραγμόνει τοὺς μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἀρέσαι τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ δυναμένους. χρήματά τε παρ' αὐτῶν συνέλεγε, καὶ ἐγαυροῦτο ταῖς ἐμπολαῖς· πρός τε τοὺς συνασχημονοῦντάς οἱ διεφέρετο, πλείους τε ἐραστὰς αὐτῶν ἔχειν καὶ πλεῖον ἀργυρίζεσθαι 14 λέγων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως τοὺς

[1] νομίμου Val., νόμου cod. Peir.
[2] καί supplied by Val.
[3] ἄν supplied here by Dind., after first μήτε by Bk.

the gods cohabit under due form of marriage, lived most licentiously himself from first to last. He married many women, and had intercourse with even more without any legal sanction; yet it was not that he had any need of them himself, but simply that he wanted to imitate their actions when he should lie with his lovers and wanted to get accomplices in his wantonness by associating with them indiscriminately. He used his body both for doing and allowing many strange things, which no one could endure to tell or hear of; but his most conspicuous acts, which it would be impossible to conceal, were the following. He would go to the taverns by night, wearing a wig, and there ply the trade of a female huckster. He frequented the notorious brothels, drove out the prostitutes, and played the prostitute himself. Finally, he set aside a room in the palace and there committed his indecencies, always standing nude at the door of the room, as the harlots do, and shaking the curtain which hung from gold rings, while in a soft and melting voice he solicited the passers-by. There were, of course, men who had been specially instructed to play their part. For, as in other matters, so in this business, too, he had numerous agents who sought out those who could best please him by their foulness. He would collect money from his patrons and give himself airs over his gains; he would also dispute with his associates in this shameful occupation, claiming that he had more lovers than they and took in more money. This is the way, now, that he behaved toward all alike who had such

A.D. 219–20?

[4] *καί* om. VC.

χρωμένους αὐτῷ ἕδρα, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐξαίρετόν τινα ἄνδρα ἔσχεν, ὃν Καίσαρα διὰ τοῦτ' ἀποδεῖξαι ἠθέλησεν.

2 Ἤλαυνε μὲν γὰρ ἅρμα τῇ πρασίῳ στολῇ χρώμενος, ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ οἴκοι, εἴγε οἶκον ἔνι φάναι τοῦτ' εἶναι ἔνθα ἠγωνοθέτουν οἵ τε ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν πρῶτοι, καὶ ἱππῆς[1] καὶ[2] Καισάρειοι, καὶ οἱ ἔπαρχοι αὐτοὶ ἥ τε τήθη καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Λέων ὁ πολίαρχος, καὶ ἐθεῶντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἁρματηλατοῦντα καὶ χρυσοῦς ὥσπερ τινὰ τῶν τυχόντων αἰτοῦντα, τούς τε ἀγωνοθέτας καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας προσκυνοῦντα.—Xiph. 349, 31—350, 26 R. St., Exc. Val. 411 (p. 762).

3 Ὅτι ἐν τῷ δικάζειν τινὰ ἀνήρ πως εἶναι ἐδόκει, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι τῆς φωνῆς ὡραΐζετο. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ ὠρχεῖτο, οὔτι[3] γε ἐν ὀρχήστρᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαδίζων τρόπον τινὰ καὶ θύων ἀσπαζόμενός τε 4 καὶ δημηγορῶν. καὶ τέλος, ἵν' ἤδη ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγον ἐπανέλθω, καὶ ἐγήματο, γυνή τε καὶ δέσποινα βασιλίς τε ὠνομάζετο, καὶ ἠριούργει,[4] κεκρύφαλόν τε ἔστιν ὅτε ἐφόρει, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐνηλείφετο, ψιμυθίῳ τε καὶ ἐγχούσῃ ἐχρίετο. ἅπαξ μὲν γάρ ποτε ἀπεκείρατο τὸ γένειον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἑορτὴν ἤγαγε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐψιλίζετο, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου γυναικίζειν. καὶ πολλάκις καὶ κατακείμενος τοὺς βουλευτὰς 15 ἠσπάζετο. ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς Ἱεροκλῆς ἦν, Καρικὸν ἀνδράποδον, Γορδίου ποτὲ παιδικὰ γενό-

[1] ἱππῆς Bs., ἱππεῖς cod. Peir.
[2] καί supplied by Reim.

relations with him; but he had, besides, one favourite "husband," whom he wished to appoint Caesar for that very reason. A.D. 219–20?

He also used to drive a chariot, wearing the Green uniform, privately and at home,—if one can call that place home where the judges were the foremost men of his suite, both knights and imperial freedmen, and the very prefects, together with his grandmother, his mother and the women, and likewise various members of the senate, including Leo, the city prefect,—and where they watched him playing charioteer and begging gold coins like any ordinary contestant and saluting the presidents of the games and the members of his faction. A.D. 220?

When trying someone in court he really had more or less the appearance of a man, but everywhere else he showed affectation in his actions and in the quality of his voice. For instance, he used to dance, not only in the orchestra, but also, in a way, even while walking, performing sacrifices, receiving salutations, or delivering a speech. And finally,—to go back now to the story which I began,—he was bestowed in marriage and was termed wife, mistress, and queen. He worked with wool, sometimes wore a hair-net, and painted his eyes, daubing them with white lead and alkanet. Once, indeed, he shaved his chin and held a festival to mark the event; but after that he had the hairs plucked out, so as to look more like a woman. And he often reclined while receiving the salutations of the senators. The husband of this "woman" was Hierocles, a Carian slave, once the favourite of Gordius, from whom he had learned to

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[3] οὔτι Dind., οὔτε VC cod. Peir.
[4] ἠριούργει Bk., ἐριούργει MSS.

μενον, παρ' οὗ καὶ ἁρματηλατεῖν ἔμαθεν. κἀκ τούτου καὶ παραδοξότατα αὐτῷ ἠρέσθη. ἐν γάρ τοι ἱπποδρομίᾳ τινὶ ἐκπεσὼν τοῦ ἅρματος κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου ἕδραν τό τε κράνος ἐν τῇ πτώσει ἀπέρριψε, καὶ ἐκφανεὶς 2 αὐτῷ (λειογένειος δ' ἔτι ἦν καὶ κόμῃ ξανθῇ ἐκεκόσμητο) ἀνηρπάσθη τε εὐθὺς ἐς τὸ παλάτιον, κἀν τοῖς νυκτερινοῖς ἔργοις ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἑλὼν αὐτὸν ὑπερηυξήθη, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἰσχῦσαι, καὶ βραχύ τι νομισθῆναι τὸ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ ἔτι δούλην οὖσαν ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἀχθῆναι κἀν ταῖς τῶν ὑπατευκότων 3 γυναιξὶ συναριθμηθῆναι. πολλάκις μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἐτιμήθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἠδυνήθησαν[1] οἱ μὲν ὅτι συνεπανέστησαν, οἱ δὲ ὅτι ἐμοίχευον αὐτόν· καὶ γὰρ μοιχεύεσθαι δοκεῖν, ἵνα κἀν τούτῳ τὰς ἀσελγεστάτας γυναῖκας μιμῆται, ἤθελε, καὶ πολλάκις ἑκὼν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἡλίσκετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐλοιδορεῖτο ἀσελγῶς πρὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὥστε καὶ ὑπώπια σχεῖν πληγὰς 4 ἐλάμβανεν. ἐκεῖνον δ' οὖν οὕτως οὐ κούφῃ τινὶ φορᾷ ἀλλὰ συντόνῳ[2] καὶ δευσοποιῷ ἔρωτι ἠγάπα, ὥστε μὴ ὅτι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τινὶ ἀγανακτῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὐναντίον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις μᾶλλον αὐτὸν φιλῆσαι, καὶ Καίσαρα ὄντως ἀποφῆναι ἐθελῆσαι,[3] καὶ τῇ τε τήθῃ διὰ τοῦτο ἐμποδὼν γενομένῃ ἀπειλῆσαι, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐχ ἥκιστα δι' 16 αὐτὸν προσκροῦσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμελλέ που καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀπολεῖσθαι.—Xiph. 350, 26–351, 22 R. St., Exc. Val. 412 (p. 765 sq.)

[1] ἠδυνήθησαν Bk., ἐδυνήθησαν MSS.
[2] συντόνῳ Sylb., πόνῳ VC. [3] ἐθελῆσαι Bk., θελῆσαι VC.

drive a chariot. It was in this connexion that he won the emperor's favour by a most remarkable chance. It seems that in a certain race Hierocles fell out of his chariot just opposite the seat of Sardanapalus, losing his helmet in his fall, and being still beardless and adorned with a crown of yellow hair, he attracted the attention of the emperor and was immediately rushed to the palace; and there by his nocturnal feats he captivated Sardanapalus more than ever and became exceedingly powerful. Indeed, he even had greater influence than the emperor himself, and it was thought a small thing that his mother, while still a slave, should be brought to Rome by soldiers and be numbered among the wives of ex-consuls. Certain other men, too, were frequently honoured by the emperor and became powerful, some because they had joined in his uprising and others because they committed adultery with him. For he wished to have the reputation of committing adultery, so that in this respect, too, he might imitate the most lewd women; and he would often allow himself to be caught in the very act, in consequence of which he used to be violently upbraided by his "husband" and beaten, so that he had black eyes. His affection for this "husband" was no light inclination, but an ardent and firmly fixed passion, so much so that he not only did not become vexed at any such harsh treatment, but on the contrary loved him the more for it and wished to make him Caesar in very fact; and he even threatened his grandmother when she opposed him in this matter, and he became at odds with the soldiers largely on this man's account. This was one of the things that was destined to lead to his destruction.

A.D. 220?

Αὐρήλιος δὲ δὴ Ζωτικός, ἀνὴρ Σμυρναῖος, ὃν καὶ Μάγειρον ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τέχνης ἀπεκάλουν, καὶ ἐφιλήθη πάνυ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμισήθη, 2 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐσώθη. οὗτος γὰρ δὴ καλὸν μὲν καὶ τὸ πᾶν σῶμα ὥστε καὶ ἐν ἀθλήσει ἔχων, πολὺ δὲ δὴ πάντας τῷ τῶν αἰδοίων μεγέθει ὑπεραίρων, ἐμηνύθη τε αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα ἐξεταζόντων, καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῶν ἀγώνων ἀναρπασθεὶς ἀνήχθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἀπλέτου καὶ ὅσην οὔτε Αὔγαρος[1] ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεουήρου οὔτε Τιριδάτης ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος 3 ἔσχε, πρόκοιτός τε καὶ πρὶν ὀφθῆναί οἱ ἀποδειχθείς, καὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀουίτου τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ ὀνόματι τιμηθείς, καὶ στεφανώμασιν ὥσπερ ἐν πανηγύρει ἠσκημένος, ἐς τὸ παλάτιον λυχνοκαΐᾳ πολλῇ λαμπόμενος ἐσῆλθε. καὶ ὃς ἰδὼν αὐτὸν 4 ἀνέθορέ τε ἐρρυθμισμένως,[2] καὶ προσειπόντα, οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν, "κύριε αὐτοκράτορ χαῖρε," θαυμαστῶς τόν τε αὐχένα γυναικίσας καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπεγκλάσας ἠμείψατο, καὶ ἔφη οὐδὲν διστάσας 5 "μή με λέγε κύριον· ἐγὼ γὰρ κυρία εἰμί." καὶ ὁ μὲν συλλουσάμενός τε αὐτῷ παραχρῆμα, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκ τῆς γυμνώσεως, ἅτε καὶ ἰσόρροπον τῇ φήμῃ εὑρὼν αὐτὸν ὄντα, πασχητιάσας ἔν τε τοῖς στέρνοις αὐτοῦ κατεκλίθη, κἀν τοῖς κόλποις 6 ὥσπερ τις ἐρωμένη δεῖπνον εἵλετο· ὁ δὲ Ἱεροκλῆς φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ δουλώσηται, καί τι δι' αὐτοῦ δεινόν, οἷα ἐν ἀντερασταῖς εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, πάθῃ, φαρμάκῳ τινὶ

[1] Αὔγαρος VC, ἄγβαρος cod. Peir.
[2] ἐρουθμισμένως cod. Peir., ἐρρυθριασμένως V, ἐρυθριασμένως C.

A.D. 220?

Aurelius Zoticus, a native of Smyrna, whom they also called "Cook," after his father's trade, incurred the emperor's thorough love and thorough hatred, and for the latter reason his life was saved. This Aurelius not only had a body that was beautiful all over, seeing that he was an athlete, but in particular he greatly surpassed all others in the size of his private parts. This fact was reported to the emperor by those who were on the look-out for such things, and the man was suddenly whisked away from the games and brought to Rome, accompanied by an immense escort, larger than Abgarus had had in the reign of Severus or Tiridates in that of Nero. He was appointed cubicularius before he had even been seen by the emperor, was honoured by the name of the latter's grandfather, Avitus, was adorned with garlands as at a festival, and entered the palace lighted by the glare of many torches. Sardanapalus, on seeing him, sprang up with rhythmic movements, and then, when Aurelius addressed him with the usual salutation, "My Lord Emperor, Hail!" he bent his neck so as to assume a ravishing feminine pose, and turning his eyes upon him with a melting gaze, answered without any hesitation: "Call me not Lord, for I am a Lady." Then Sardanapalus immediately joined him in the bath, and finding him when stripped to be equal to his reputation, burned with even greater lust, reclined on his breast, and took dinner, like some loved mistress, in his bosom. But Hierocles fearing that Zoticus would captivate the emperor more completely than he himself could, and that he might therefore suffer some terrible fate at his hands, as often happens in the case of rival lovers, caused the cup-bearers, who were well dis-

αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν οἰνοχόων, προσφιλῶν που ἑαυτῷ ὄντων, ἐξεθήλυνε. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος ἀστυσίᾳ[1] παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα συσχεθεὶς ἀφῃρέθη τε πάντων ὧν ἐτετυχήκει,[2] καὶ ἐξηλάθη ἔκ τε τοῦ παλατίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἰταλίας· ὃ καὶ ἔσωσεν αὐτόν.—Xiph. 351, 22—352, 14 R. St., Exc. Val. 413 (p. 766).

7 Ἐς τοσαύτην δὲ συνηλάθη ἀσέλγειαν ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἀξιοῦν αἰδῶ γυναικείαν δι' ἀνατομῆς αὐτῷ μηχανήσασθαι, μεγάλους ὑπὲρ τούτου μισθοὺς αὐτοῖς προϊσχόμενος.—Zon. 12, 14, p. 118, 30—119, 3 D.

17 Ἔμελλε δέ που καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος ἀξιώτατον τῆς μιαρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μισθὸν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον κομιεῖσθαι. ἅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ποιῶν καὶ ταῦτα πάσχων ἐμισήθη ὑπό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἷς μάλιστα προσέκειτο, καὶ τελευταῖον καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐσφάγη.—Xiph. 352, 14—18 R. St.

Ἄβιτος, ὥς φησι Δίων, τὸν ἰατρὸν ἠντιβόλει διφυῆ αὐτὸν διὰ τομῆς ἐμπροσθίου τῇ τέχνῃ ποιεῖσθαι.—Leo p. 287, 18–19 Cram., Cedr. 1 p. 449, 22—450, 1. B., cod. Paris. 1712 f. 80[r].

Ὅτι ὁ Ψευδαντωνῖνος ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν κατεφρονήθη καὶ ἀνῃρέθη· ὅταν γὰρ ἐθισθῶσί τινες καὶ ταῦτα ὡπλισμένοι καταφρονεῖν τῶν κρατούντων, οὐδένα ὅρον τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν ἃ βούλονται ποιοῦνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δόντος ταύτην ὁπλίζονται.—Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 152 (p. 232 Mai. = p. 217, 8–13 Dind.).

posed toward him, to administer a drug that abated the other's manly prowess. And so Zoticus, after a whole night of embarrassment, being unable to secure an erection, was deprived of all the honours he had received, and was driven out of the palace, out of Rome, and later out of the rest of Italy; and this saved his life. A.D. 220?

He carried his lewdness to such a point that he asked the physicians to contrive a woman's vagina in his body by means of an incision, promising them large sums for doing so.

Sardanapalus himself was destined not much later to receive a well-deserved reward for his debauchery. For in consequence of doing and submitting to these things he became hated by the populace and by the soldiers, to whom he was most attached, and at last he was slain by them in the very camp. A.D. 221

Avitus, according to Dio, besought his physician to employ his skill to make him bisexual by means of an anterior incision.

The False Antoninus was despised and put out of the way by the soldiers. Thus it is that persons, particularly if armed, when they have once accustomed themselves to feel contempt for their rulers, set no limit to their right to do what they please, but keep their arms ready to use against the very man who gave them that power.

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[1] ἀστυσίᾳ Xyl., ἀστασία VC, ἄστυτος cod. Peir.
[2] ἐτετυχήκει Reim., τετύχηκε VC, ἐτετύχει cod. Peir.

2 Ἔσχε δὲ οὕτως. τὸν Βασσιανὸν τὸν ἀνεψιὸν αὑτοῦ[1] ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσαγαγών, καὶ τὴν Μαῖσαν καὶ τὴν Σοαιμίδα ἑκατέρωθεν παραστησάμενος, παῖδα ἔθετο, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὡς καὶ πατέρα ἐξαίφνης τηλικούτου παιδίου, καίπερ οὐ[2] πολὺ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ αὐτοῦ προέχοντα, ἐμακάρισε, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλου τέκνου δεῖσθαι ἔφησεν, ἵν' ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ 3 ἄνευ ἀθυμιῶν διαγένηται· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἐλεγάβαλον τοῦτό τέ οἱ ποιῆσαι καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸν προσονομάσαι κεκελευκέναι. καὶ ἔγωγε πείθομαι ἐκ θείας τινὸς παρασκευῆς ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτὰ γεγονέναι, τεκμαιρόμενος οὐχ οἷς ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἔκ τε τοῦ λεχθέντος αὐτῷ ὑπό τινος, ὅτι ἄρα τις[3] Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξ Ἐμέσης ἐλθὼν αὐτὸν διαδέξεται, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἔν τε τῇ Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω 18 καὶ τῇ Θρᾴκῃ. ὀλίγον γὰρ τούτων[4] πρότερον δαίμων τις Ἀλέξανδρός τε ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐκεῖνος εἶναι λέγων καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ τήν τε σκευὴν ἅπασαν φέρων, ὡρμήθη τε ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον χωρίων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐκείνῃ ἐκφανείς, καὶ διά τε τῆς Μυσίας[5] καὶ τῆς Θρᾴκης διεξῆλθε βακχεύων μετ' ἀνδρῶν τετρακοσίων, θύρσους τε καὶ νεβρίδας[6] ἐνεσκευασμένων, κακὸν οὐδὲν 2 δρώντων. ὡμολόγητο δὲ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ τότε γενομένων ὅτι καὶ καταγωγαὶ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτῷ πάντα δημοσίᾳ παρεσκευάσθη· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν οὔτ' ἀντειπεῖν οἱ οὔτ' ἀντᾶραι, οὐκ ἄρχων, οὐ στρατιώτης, οὐκ ἐπίτροπος, οὐχ οἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλ'

[1] αὑτοῦ H. Steph., αὐτοῦ VC.
[2] καίπερ οὐ Bs., ὃς καί VC.
[3] τις Sylb., ὡς VC, ὁ Leuncl.

This is how it came about. He brought his cousin Bassianus before the senate, and having caused Maesa and Soaemis to take their places on either side of him, formally adopted him as his son; and he congratulated himself on becoming suddenly the father of so large a boy,—though he himself was not much older than the other,—and declared that he had no need of any other child to keep his house free from despondency. He said that Elagabalus had ordered him to do this and further to call his son's name Alexander. And I, for my part, am persuaded that all this did come about in very truth by some divine arrangement; though I infer this, not from what he said, but from the statement made to him by someone else, to the effect that an Alexander should come from Emesa to succeed him, and again from what happened in Upper Moesia and in Thrace. For shortly before this time a spirit, claiming to be the famous Alexander of Macedon, and resembling him in looks and general appearance, set out from the regions along the Ister, after first appearing there in some manner or other, and proceeded through Moesia and Thrace, revelling in company with four hundred male attendants, who were equipped with thyrsi and fawn skins and did no harm. It was admitted by all those who were in Thrace at the time that lodgings and all provisions for the spirit were donated at public expense, and none—whether magistrate, soldier, procurator, or the governors of the provinces—dared to oppose the spirit either by word or by deed, but it proceeded in broad

A.D. 221

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[4] *τούτων* R. Steph., *τοῦτον* VC.
[5] *Μυσίας* Bk., *'Ασίας* VC.
[6] *νεβρίδας* Reim., *νευρίδας* VC.

ὥσπερ ἐν πομπῇ τινὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐκ προρρήσεως
3 ἐκομίσθη μέχρι τοῦ Βυζαντίου. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἐξαναχθεὶς προσέσχε μὲν τῇ Χαλκηδονίᾳ[1] γῇ, ἐκεῖ δὲ δὴ νυκτὸς ἱερά τινα ποιήσας καὶ ἵππον ξύλινον καταχώσας ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔτι, ὡς εἶπον, ὤν, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν περὶ τὸν Βασσιανὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενέσθαι, ἔμαθον.—Xiph. 352, 18—353, 11 R. St.

4 Ὅτι ποτὲ ὁ αὐτὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν· "οὐδὲν δέομαι ὀνομάτων ἐκ πολέμου καὶ αἵματος· ἀρκεῖ γάρ μοι καὶ εὐσεβῆ καὶ εὐτυχῆ παρ' ὑμῶν καλεῖσθαι." —Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 153 (p. 232 Mai. = p. 217, 14–16 Dind.).

Ὅτι Ψευδαντωνῖνος ἐπαινούμενός ποτε παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἶπεν ὅτι "ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀγαπᾶτέ με καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ τὰ ἔξω στρατόπεδα.[2] τοῖς δὲ δορυφόροις οἷς τοσαῦτα[3] δίδωμι οὐκ ἀρέσκω."—Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 154 (p. 232 sq. Mai. = p. 217, 17–20 Dind.).

19, 1[1] Ἕως μὲν οὖν ὁ Σαρδανάπαλλος τὸν ἀνεψιὸν ἐφίλει, ἐσῴζετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας ὑπώπτευε καὶ ἐμάνθανε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ῥέποντας ὁλοσχερῶς ταῖς εὐνοίαις, ἐτόλμησε μεταγνῶναι καὶ πάντα ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει αὐτοῦ ἔπραττεν.—Xiph. 353, 11–15 R. St.

1[a] Ὅτι τινῶν συνηγορούντων τῷ Ψευδαντωνίνῳ καὶ εἰπόντων ὡς εὐτυχὴς εἴη τῷ υἱῷ συνυπατεύων, ἔφη· "εὐτυχέστερος ἔσομαι κατὰ τὸν ἑξῆς ἐνιαυτὸν μετὰ γνησίου υἱοῦ μέλλων ὑπατεύειν."—Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 155 (p. 233 Mai. = p. 127, 21–24 Dind.).

1[2] Ὡς δέ ποτε καὶ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρησεν,

daylight, as if in a solemn procession, as far as Byzantium, as it had foretold. Then taking ship, it landed in the territory of Chalcedon, and there, after performing some sacred rites by night and burying a wooden horse, it vanished. These facts I ascertained while still in Asia, as I have stated, and before anything had been done at all about Bassianus at Rome. A.D. 221

One day this same emperor made this statement: "I do not want titles derived from war and bloodshed. It is enough for me that you call me Pius and Felix."

The False Antoninus, on being praised once by the senate, remarked: "Yes, you love me, and so, by Jupiter, does the populace, and also the legions abroad; but I do not please the Pretorians, to whom I keep giving so much."

So long as Sardanapalus continued to love his cousin, he was safe. But when he became suspicious of all men and learned that their favour was turning entirely to the boy, he ventured to change his mind and did everything to bring about his destruction. A.D. 222

When some persons who were acting as advocates along with the False Antoninus remarked how fortunate he was to be consul together with his son, he replied: "I shall be more fortunate next year; for then I am going to be consul with a real son."

When, however, Sardanapalus attempted to destroy

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[1] Χαλκηδονίᾳ Xyl., κὰρχηδονία VC.
[2] στρατόπεδα Bs., στρατοπέδου cod.
[3] τοσαῦτα Mai., ταῦτα cod.

οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπο-
2 θανεῖν ἐκινδύνευσεν· ὅ τε γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπό τε τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τῆς τήθης ὑπό τε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάσσετο, καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου δεινῶς ἐθορύβησαν, οὐ πρίν τε ἐπαύσαντο στασιάζοντες ἢ τὸν Σαρδανάπαλλον τὸ στρατόπεδον
3 σὺν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καταλαβόντα, πολλά τε ἱκετεύσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἐξαιτηθέντας παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν συνασελγαινόντων αὐτῷ ἐκδοῦναι ἀναγκασθέντα, ὑπέρ τε τοῦ Ἱεροκλέους οἰκτρὰ λαλήσαντα καὶ δάκρυσι κλαύσαντα, τήν τε σφαγὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προδείξαντα, καὶ ἐπειπόντα "ἕνα μοι τοῦτον χαρίσασθε, ὅ τι βούλεσθε περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑποτοπήσαντες, ἢ ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνατε," μόλις αὐ-
4 τοὺς ἐκμειλίξασθαι. τότε μὲν οὖν μόλις ἐσώθη· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ τήθη αὐτοῦ ἐμίσει τε αὐτὸν ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραττεν, ὡς οὐδὲ τοῦ Ἀντωνίνου υἱὸν ὄντα, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς καὶ ὄντως[1] ἐξ
20 αὐτοῦ γεγονότα ἀπέκλινε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιβεβουλευκὼς πάλιν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ θορυβησάντων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν δορυφόρων σὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσελθών, ὡς ᾔσθετο φυλαττόμενον ἑαυτὸν[2] ἐπὶ ἀναιρέσει, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ μητέρες αὐτῶν ἐκφανέστερον ἢ πρὶν ἀλλήλαις μαχόμεναι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἠρέθιζον, φεύγειν
2 πως ἐπεχείρησε. καὶ ἔμελλεν ἐς τύλλον ἐμβληθεὶς ἐκδρᾶναί ποι, φωραθεὶς δὲ ἀπεσφάγη, ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονώς. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ (περιπλακεῖσα γὰρ ἀπρὶξ εἴχετο) συναπώλετο.

[1] καὶ ὄντως Sylb., ὄντως καί VC.

Alexander, he not only accomplished nothing but A.D. 222 came near being killed himself. For Alexander was sedulously guarded by his mother and his grandmother and by the soldiers, and the Pretorians, also, on becoming aware of the attempt of Sardanapalus, raised a terrible tumult; and they did not stop rioting until Sardanapalus, accompanied by Alexander, came to the camp and poured out his supplications and under compulsion surrendered such of his companions in lewdness as the soldiers demanded. In behalf of Hierocles he offered piteous pleas and bewailed him with tears; then, pointing to his own throat, he cried: "Grant me this one man, whatever you may have been pleased to suspect about him, or else slay me." Thus with difficulty he succeeded in appeasing them; and for the time being he was saved himself, though with difficulty. Even his grandmother hated him because of his deeds, which seemed to show that he was not the son of Antoninus at all, and was coming to favour Alexander, as being really sprung from him. Later he again formed a plot against Alexander, and when the Pretorians raised an outcry at this, he went with him to the camp. But he then became aware that he was under guard and awaiting execution, as the mothers of the two youths, being more openly at variance with each other than before, were inflaming the spirits of the soldiers; so he made an attempt to flee, and would have got away somewhere by being placed in a chest, had he not been discovered and slain, at the age of eighteen. His mother, who embraced him and clung tightly to him, perished

[2] ἑαυτόν H. Steph., ἑαυτῷ VC.

καὶ αἵ τε κεφαλαὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεκόπησαν, καὶ τὰ σώματα γυμνωθέντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐσύρη, ἔπειτα τὸ μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς ἄλλως πως ἐρρίφη, τὸ δὲ ἐκείνου ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνεβλήθη.—Xiph. 353, 15–354, 8 R. St.

21 Καὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Ἱεροκλῆς οἵ τε ἔπαρχοι συναπώλοντο καὶ Αὐρήλιος Εὔβουλος, ὃς Ἐμεσηνὸς μὲν τὸ γένος ἦν, καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀσελγείας καὶ μιαρίας ἐχώρησεν ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πρότερον ἐξαιτηθῆναι. τοὺς γὰρ δὴ καθόλου λόγους ἐπιτετραμμένος οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδήμευσε. τότε δ' οὖν ὑπό τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν διεσπάσθη, καὶ Φούλουιος σὺν 2 αὐτῷ ὁ πολίαρχος. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Κωμάζων, ὡς καὶ τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, διεδέξατο· ὥσπερ γὰρ προσωπεῖόν τι ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἐν τῷ διακένῳ τῆς τῶν κωμῳδῶν ὑποκρίσεως ἐσεφέρετο, οὕτω[1] καὶ ἐκεῖνος τῇ τῶν πολιαρχησάντων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ[2] κενῇ χώρᾳ προσετάττετο. ὅ τε Ἐλεγάβαλος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης παντάπασιν ἐξέπεσε.

3 Τὰ μὲν τοῦ Τιβερίνου οὕτως ἔσχε, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν συγκατασκευασάντων αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν καὶ μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῷ δυνηθέντων, πλὴν ἑνός που, ἐσώθη.—Xiph. 354, 8–19 R. St., Exc. Val. 414 (p. 769).

LXXX 1, 1 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ μετ' ἐκεῖνον εὐθὺς αὐταρχήσας Δομιτίῳ τινὶ Οὐλπιανῷ τήν τε τῶν δορυφόρων προστασίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπέτρεψε πράγματα.

2 Ταῦτα μὲν ἀκριβώσας, ὡς ἕκαστα ἠδυνήθην,

[1] οὕτω Leuncl., καὶ οὕτω VC.
[2] αὐτοῦ Rk., αὐτῇ VC.

with him; their heads were cut off and their bodies, after being stripped naked, were first dragged all over the city, and then the mother's body was cast aside somewhere or other, while his was thrown into the river. A.D. 222

With him perished, among others, Hierocles and the prefects; also Aurelius Eubulus, who was an Emesene by birth and had gone so far in lewdness and debauchery that his surrender had been demanded even by the populace before this. He had been in charge of the fiscus,[1] and there was nothing that he did not confiscate. So now he was torn to pieces by the populace and the soldiers; and Fulvius, the city prefect, perished at the same time with him. Comazon had succeeded Fulvius, even as he had succeeded Fulvius' predecessor; for just as a mask used to be carried into the theatres to occupy the stage during the intervals in the acting, when it was left vacant by the comic actors, so Comazon was put in the vacant place of the men who had been city prefects in his day. As for Elagabalus himself,[2] he was banished from Rome altogether.

Such was the fate of Tiberinus; and none of those who had helped him plan his uprising, and had gained great power in consequence, survived, either, save perhaps a single person.[3]

Alexander became emperor immediately after him, and entrusted to one Domitius Ulpian the command of the Pretorians and the other business of the empire.

Thus far I have described events with as great A.D. 222–229

[1] *Procurator summarum rationum.*

[2] The god.

[3] This probably refers to Comazon.

συνέγραψα· τὰ δὲ δὴ λοιπὰ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξελθεῖν οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγενόμην διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρῖψαι. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἐλθὼν ἠρρώστησα, κἀκεῖθεν πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἡγεμονίαν ἠπείχθην,
3 *ἐπανελθών τε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν εὐθέως ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔς τε τὴν Δελματίαν*[1] *κἀντεῦθεν ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν τὴν ἄνω ἄρξων ἐπέμφθην, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ἀφικόμενος*
2 *παραχρῆμα οἴκαδε ἐξωρμήθην. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα οὐκ ἠδυνήθην ὁμοίως τοῖς πρόσθεν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνθεῖναι, κεφαλαιώσας μέντοι ταῦτα, ὅσα γε καὶ μέχρι τῆς δευτέρας μου ὑπατείας ἐπράχθη, διηγήσομαι.*

2 *Ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου πραχθέντων ἐπηνώρθωσε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Φλαουιανὸν τόν τε Χρῆστον ἀποκτείνας, ἵνα αὐτοὺς διαδέξηται, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπιθεμένων οἱ νυκτὸς κατεσφάγη, καίτοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ παλάτιον ἀναδραμὼν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τήν τε μητέρα αὐτοῦ καταφυγών.*
3 *ζῶντος δ' οὖν ἔτι αὐτοῦ στάσις μεγάλη τοῦ δήμου*[2] *πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκ βραχείας τινὸς αἰτίας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας μάχεσθαί τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀπολέσθαι. ἡττώμενοι δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται πρὸς ἔμπρησιν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἐτράποντο· κἀκ τούτου δείσας ὁ δῆμος μὴ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις*
4 *φθαρῇ, καὶ ἄκων σφίσι συνηλλάγη. ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ Ἐπάγαθος, ὡς καὶ αἴτιος τῷ*

[1] Δελματίαν Reim., δαλματίαν VC.

accuracy as I could in every case, but for subsequent events I have not found it possible to give an accurate account, for the reason that I did not spend much time in Rome. For, after going from Asia into Bithynia, I fell sick, and from there I hastened to my province of Africa; then, on returning to Italy I was almost immediately sent as governor first to Dalmatia and then to Upper Pannonia, and though after that I returned to Rome and to Campania, I at once set out for home.[1] For these reasons, then, I have not been able to compile the same kind of account of subsequent events as of the earlier ones. I will narrate briefly, however, all that occurred up to the time of my second consulship.

A.D. 222–229

Ulpian corrected many of the irregularities introduced by Sardanapalus; but after putting to death Flavianus and Chrestus, that he might succeed them, he was himself slain ere long by the Pretorians, who attacked him in the night; and it availed him naught that he ran to the palace and took refuge with the emperor himself and the emperor's mother. Even during his lifetime a great quarrel had arisen between the populace and the Pretorians, from some small cause, with the result that they fought together for three days and many lost their lives on both sides. The soldiers, on getting the worst of it, directed their efforts to setting fire to buildings; and so the populace, fearing the whole city would be destroyed, reluctantly came to terms with them. Besides these occurrences, Epagathus, who was believed to have been chiefly

[1] Nicaea.

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[2] τοῦ δήμου Zon., om. VC.

Οὐλπιανῷ τοῦ ὀλέθρου τὸ[1] πλέον γενόμενος, ἔς τε Αἴγυπτον ὡς ἄρξων αὐτῆς ἐπέμφθη, ἵνα μή τις ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κολασθέντος αὐτοῦ ταραχὴ γένηται, κἀκεῖθεν ἐς Κρήτην ἀπαχθεὶς ἐδικαιώθη.

3 Πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ πολλῶν ἐπαναστάσεις γενόμεναι, καί τινες καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἐκφοβήσασαι, κατεπαύθησαν.

Τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ καὶ φοβερώτερα, καὶ ἀληθέστερον δέος σύμπασιν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, παρέσχεν. 2 Ἀρταξέρξης γάρ τις Πέρσης τούς τε Πάρθους τρισὶ μάχαις νικήσας, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Ἀρτάβανον ἀποκτείνας, ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄτρα ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἐπιβασίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποιούμενος. καὶ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος διέρρηξεν, συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἀποβαλὼν ἐπὶ 3 τὴν Μηδίαν μετέστη, καὶ ἐκείνης τε οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῆς Παρθίας, τὰ μὲν βίᾳ τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ, παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἤλασε, κἀνταῦθα πρός τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ πρὸς Μήδων τινῶν τῶν τε τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου παίδων πταίσας, ὡς μέν τινες λέγουσιν, ἔφυγεν, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι, ἀνεχώρησε 4 πρὸς παρασκευὴν δυνάμεως μείζονος. οὗτος[2] οὖν φοβερὸς ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, στρατεύματί τε πολλῷ οὐ μόνον τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐφεδρεύσας, καὶ ἀπειλῶν ἀνακτήσεσθαι πάντα, ὡς καὶ προσήκοντά οἱ ἐκ προγόνων, ὅσα ποτὲ οἱ πάλαι Πέρσαι μέχρι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἔσχον, οὐχ ὅτι αὐτὸς λόγου τινὸς ἄξιος

[1] τὸ supplied by Reim.
[2] οὗτος Bk., οὗτός τε VC.

responsible for the death of Ulpian, was sent to Egypt, ostensibly as governor, but really in order to prevent any disturbance from taking place in Rome, as it would if he were punished there. From Egypt he was taken to Crete and executed.

A.D. 222–229

Many uprisings were begun by many persons, some of which caused great alarm, but they were all put down.

But the situation in Mesopotamia became still more alarming and inspired a more genuine fear in all, not merely the people in Rome, but the rest of mankind as well. For Artaxerxes, a Persian, after conquering the Parthians in three battles and killing their king, Artabanus, made a campaign against Hatra, in the endeavour to capture it as a base for attacking the Romans. He actually did make a breach in the wall, but when he lost a good many soldiers through an ambuscade, he moved against Media. Of this country, as also of Parthia, he acquired no small portion, partly by force and partly by intimidation, and then marched against Armenia. Here he suffered a reverse at the hands of the natives, some Medes, and the sons of Artabanus, and either fled, as some say, or, as others assert, retired to prepare a larger expedition. He accordingly became a source of fear to us; for he was encamped with a large army so as to threaten not only Mesopotamia but also Syria, and he boasted that he would win back everything that the ancient Persians had once held, as far as the Grecian Sea, claiming that all this was his rightful inheritance from his forefathers. The danger lies not in the fact that he seems to be of any particular consequence in himself, but rather in the fact that our

A.D. 227?

δοκεῖ,[1] ἀλλ' ὅτι οὕτω τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἡμῖν διάκειται ὥστε τοὺς μὲν καὶ προστίθεσθαι αὐτῷ, 2 τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἀμύνεσθαι. τοσαύτῃ γὰρ ἅμα τρυφῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ἀνεπιπληξίᾳ τε χρῶνται ὥστε[2] τολμῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ τὸν ἄρχοντα σφῶν Φλάουιον Ἡρακλέωνα ἀποκτεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους πρὸς τῷ Οὐλπιανῷ καὶ ἐμὲ αἰτιάσασθαι ὅτι τῶν ἐν τῇ Παννονίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἐγκρατῶς ἦρξα, καὶ ἐξαιτῆσαι, φοβηθέντας μὴ καὶ ἐκείνους τις ὁμοίως τοῖς Παννονικοῖς ἄρχεσθαι καταναγκάσῃ.

5 Οὐ μέντοι προετίμησέ τι αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὐναντίον ἄλλως τε ἐσέμνυνέ με καὶ δεύτερον ὑπατεύσοντα σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπέδειξε, τό τε ἀνάλωμα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸς[3] ἀναλώσειν ὑπεδέξατο. ἀχθεσθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφοβήθη[4] μὴ καὶ ἀποκτείνωσί με ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς σχήματι ἰδόντες, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἔξω τῆς Ῥώμης ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ που διατρῖψαι τὸν τῆς 2 ὑπατείας χρόνον. καὶ οὕτω μετὰ ταῦτα ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθον, καὶ συνδιατρίψας τινὰς ἡμέρας αὐτῷ, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας ὀφθείς, ἀπῆρα οἴκαδε παρέμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ποδῶν ἀρρωστίᾳ, ὥστε πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου 3 χρόνον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ζῆσαι, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ ἤδη μοι ὄντι σαφέστατα

[1] οὐχ ὅτι αὐτὸς λόγου τινὸς ἄξιος δοκεῖ Bs., οὐχ ὅτι αὐτός τις ἄμαχος εἶναι δοκεῖ VC, καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐχ ὅτι αὐτὸς λόγου τινὸς ἄξιος cod. Peir.

[2] ὥστε—ἀποκτεῖναι, καὶ τοὺς Bs., ὥστε τολμῆσαι φλάβιον ἡρακλέωνα τοὺς ἐν τῇ μεσοποταμίᾳ τὸν ἄρχοντα σφῶν καὶ τοὺς VC, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι cod. Peir.

armies are in such a state that some of the troops are actually joining him and others are refusing to defend themselves. They indulge in such wantonness, licence, and lack of discipline, that those in Mesopotamia even dared to kill their commander, Flavius Heracleo, and the Pretorians complained of me to Ulpianus, because I ruled the soldiers in Pannonia with a strong hand; and they demanded my surrender, through fear that someone might compel them to submit to a régime similar to that of the Pannonian troops.

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Alexander, however, paid no heed to them, but, on the contrary, honoured me in various ways, especially by appointing me to be consul for the second time, as his colleague, and taking upon himself personally the responsibility of meeting the expenditures of my office. But as the malcontents evinced displeasure at this, he became afraid that they might kill me if they saw me in the insignia of my office, and so he bade me spend the period of my consulship in Italy, somewhere outside of Rome. And thus later I came both to Rome and to Campania to visit him, and spent a few days in his company, during which the soldiers saw me without offering to do me any harm; then, having asked to be excused because of the ailment of my feet, I set out for home, with the intention of spending all the rest of my life in my native land, as, indeed, the Heavenly Power revealed to me most clearly when I was already in Bithynia.

A.D. 229?

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[3] αὐτὸς Bk., αὐτῷ αὐτὸς VC.
[4] ἐφοβήθη Sylb., ἐφοβήθην VC.

ἐδήλωσεν. ὄναρ γάρ ποτε ἔδοξα προστάσσεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσγράψασθαι τῷ ἀκροτελευτίῳ τὰ ἔπη τάδε,

> Ἕκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὕπαγε Ζεὺς ἔκ τε κονίης
> ἔκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἔκ θ' αἵματος ἔκ τε κυδοιμοῦ.

—Xiph. 356, 6–357, 9 R. St., Exc. Val. 415 (p. 769).

For once in a dream I thought I was commanded by it to write at the close of my work these verses: A.D. 229

"Hector anon did Zeus lead forth out of range of the missiles,
Out of the dust and the slaying of men and the blood and the uproar."[1]

[1] Hom., *Il.* xi. 163–4.

FRAGMENT

Τοῦ δὲ Ψευδαντωνίνου ἀναιρεθέντος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μαμαίας, ὁ ἐκείνου ἀνεψιός (οὕτω γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς ἐξαδέλφους ὠνόμαζον), τὴν αὐταρχίαν ἀπεκληρώσατο. ὃς αὐτίκα τὴν οἰκείαν μητέρα Μαμαίαν Αὔγουσταν ἀνεῖπεν, ᾗ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων οἰκονομίαν μετακεχείριστο, καὶ περὶ τὸν υἱὸν σοφοὺς ἄνδρας συνήγαγεν, ἵνα δι' ἐκείνων αὐτῷ τὰ ἤθη ῥυθμίζοιτο, κἀκ τῆς γερουσίας τοὺς ἀμείνονας συμβούλους προσείλετο, ἅπαν πρακτέον κοινουμένη αὐτοῖς.—Zon. 12, 15, p. 119, 31–120, 9 D.

FRAGMENT

When the False Antoninus had been put out of the way, Alexander, the son of Mamaea, and his cousin, inherited the supreme power. He immediately proclaimed his mother Augusta, and she took over the direction of affairs and gathered wise men about her son, in order that his habits might be correctly formed by them; she also chose the best men in the senate as advisers, informing them of all that had to be done.

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(*All dates are* B.C. *unless otherwise indicated. Figures in black type refer to the volumes of the book.*)

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